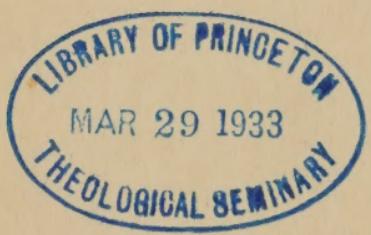


BUILDING A GIRL'S PERSONALITY



RUTH SHONLE CAVAN
AND
JORDAN TRUE CAVAN

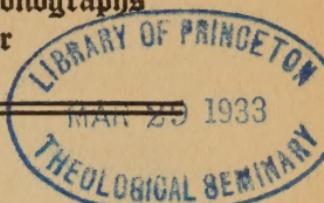


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A Social Psychology of Later Girlhood

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

AND

JORDAN TRUE CAVAN



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BUILDING A GIRL'S PERSONALITY

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PREFACE

UNTIL quite recently the years of youth were the special province of writers of romance. Serious discussions of adolescence were confined chiefly to the early teens, due apparently to the fact that they were written by schoolmen who were interested in the high-school student. Only recently has the college student begun to receive careful attention from psychologists and psychiatrists, with a resulting flood of personnel departments, clinics, testing programs and articles and books on college student problems. The young person in business and industry still follows her own devices without comment, so long as she does not violate any of the major conventions or laws. The work of the Y. W. C. A., of personnel departments in store and factory, and of churches is of the practical sort and results in little published material to guide others.

Nevertheless, a limited number of studies of youth are appearing, and fragmentary parts of general psychological and sociological studies often concern this period of development. It is the purpose of this book to assemble such information with reference to girls and to present it and the experiences of the writers in nontechnical language in the attempt to give both a point of view and the present status of information on girls.

Such discussions seem particularly pertinent at this time. Religious education in the church and character education in the public schools are no longer satisfied, in the one case, with doctrines and creeds and, in the other, with superficial character traits. The molding of per-

sonality and character must go deeper than word-of-mouth repetitions of creeds or virtues. To be a secure possession of the adolescent or youth, goodness must be more than unthinking adherence to rules of conduct taught in the classroom.

The need of the present century is for self-reliant young women, with well-integrated personalities, controlled by high ideals of personal achievement and social responsibility. The small neighborhoods in which people of the last generation found peace and contentment are becoming fewer and fewer, for even villages have assumed certain urban aspects with the wider contacts afforded by automobiles, radios, and motion pictures. New customs and different moral codes have come to the village to upset the older established ways and to confuse both girls and adults. In the cities girls are forced to depend upon themselves for finding and making friends, for the selection of amusements, for establishing church and club contacts, for living up to a moral code. In the city few people care whether any given girl is happy and contented, whether she is leading a well-regulated or a dissipated life. It is therefore very necessary that the girl should have a stable and well-organized personality and should be able to formulate certain standards for herself and to abide by them.

The development of a stable personality falls within the field of social psychology, for it involves both the inner needs and forces of the human being and the social traditions and customs which press upon her. This book is therefore based upon current research and theories in the field of social psychology. But the development of a particular type of personality—in this case, one con-

trolled by personal and social ideals—is the concern of both religious agencies and the public school. The older adolescent, who is no longer in school, should be the particular concern of the church and other social-religious agencies (such as the Y. W. C. A.). The discussion, therefore, includes many references to the work which is being done or which might be done by such agencies as well as a discussion of religious and ethical standards and the need for a philosophy of life.

The material is presented in practical and concrete form rather than as abstract theories. Thus the discussion on the need for growth into independence is not phrased in general terms but in concrete terms with reference to the girl's relation to her family. Throughout the preparation of the book the actual situations in which girls find themselves have been sought and studied.

The book is not primarily intended as curriculum material which can be used in teaching classes of girls, although it might be adapted to such a purpose. It is intended as background material for ministers, religious educators, teachers, and those in charge of clubs or connected with girls' organizations who may feel the need for a brief summary of the social psychology of later adolescence. The book is arranged with questions and references at the end of each chapter. Excerpts from case studies and from narratives written by young people are included as illustrative material. It is the sincere hope of the authors that the book may be of service to the group for which it is intended.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN.

JORDAN TRUE CAVAN.

Rockford, Illinois.

CHAPTER I

THE PERIOD OF YOUTH

WHAT IS YOUTH?

THE years of youth are variously designated by different writers. Sixteen to twenty, eighteen to twenty-four, the college years, and the later teens are some of the terms used. The difficulty in terminology is bound up with the fact that youth, when thought of psychologically, does not refer to age or physical growth, but rather to that period, at whatever age it may come, when adult responsibilities are faced, and the girl, no longer a child, begins to live with adult independence. For the girl who leaves school at fourteen or sixteen and finds a job in factory, shop, or store, youth comes early. The girl who attends college, supported by her parents, perhaps living at home or under the supervision of deans and advisers, may have her period of youth prolonged well into the twenties.

Although the period of youth cannot be set off between definite birthdays, it has often been described with reference to its major characteristics. It has been called an experimenting period, a drifting period, a transitional period, an age of abundant energy and enthusiasm, of "storm and stress," of desire for thrills. It is said to be characterized by increased vigor, an intellectual rebirth, radicalism and revolt. Youths are said to be interested in working out a life philosophy, finding a life career or vocation, finding a mate, and attaining inde-

pendence. From another point of view, youth is the period for delinquency, for running away from home, for conflict with family and community authorities.

Many of these statements emphasize the extremes. For every youthful radical there are many unnoticed young conservatives. For every adolescent delinquent there are many law-abiding young people. For every young intellectual puzzling over the meaning of life there are many who accept life without questioning.

Nevertheless, even for the great majority of young people, later adolescence or youth holds certain definite problems. The psychiatrist Frankwood E. Williams believes that the two major problems of adolescence are emancipation of the adolescent from the home and the establishment of satisfactory relationships with persons of the opposite sex. To these two problems may be added the need for some vocational decision and planning to secure the necessary training for it. The actual transition from schoolroom to job may involve major problems: old friends may be lost; new character traits may be demanded; ethical problems may arise. There is a general expectation on the part of the community—and on the part of the girl herself—that love and marriage should now come. With the at least semi-independence of college or job, the girl is asked to accept new responsibilities not only for her own decisions but for community duties. Youth is also the period when the childhood religious code, perhaps for the first time, is compared with actual conditions and found to be in need of readjustment.

The late teens, therefore, bring many new demands which the girl must meet for herself, and if her previous

training has not fitted her to meet them adequately, she faces the possibility of unhappiness and disorganization.

ADOLESCENT PERSONALITY NOT MYSTERIOUS

The whole period of adolescence has sometimes been treated by psychologists as swathed in mystery; the adolescent personality has seemed a thing apart from normal human personality, as caused by forces which suddenly spring into action at the beginning of puberty.

There seems to be little justification for such a conception of adolescence. The problems which become acute then seem to hinge upon social maladjustments, social pressures, and conflicts, at least as much as upon the development of psychological and physical traits. The desire of the parent to retain complete authority over a seventeen-year-old daughter is quite as much the cause of rebellion as the growing interest and curiosity of the daughter in the world beyond her doorstep. The educational, vocational, and marital changes which typically come at this period may be thought of as social crises, when the girl must adapt herself to new sets of conventions and duties. Her unwillingness or her inability to adapt herself may arouse the fears of parents and cause threats and the show of authority, which in turn arouse her to revolt. Many of the difficulties of young people arise from these social readjustments and the desire of the anxious adult world to enforce obedience.

Many problems arise also which have been ignored by parents and teachers in small children but which cannot be ignored when they continue into adolescence. Temper tantrums may be laughed away in the baby, endured during childhood, but they can scarcely be overlooked in

the adolescent or young adult. It is doubtful whether young adults exhibit temper tantrums, however, unless they have been indulging in them since babyhood. Many adolescent delinquents who come before the court for a major offense have a long record since pre-school days of petty thefts, running away, and minor acts of misconduct. Shyness, a tendency to cry when thwarted, excessive daydreaming all have their roots in earlier childhood habits, although they may become accentuated when the adolescent finds herself involved in the wider and more varied contacts of the adult world or is denied the protection of her parents. It seems rather certain that the essential patterns of personality, the characteristic ways of acting, are set rather early in childhood and that apparently new traits which crop out during adolescence are but modifications of these old traits, induced by the new social relationships in which the adolescent finds herself.

When parents have continued to control their children by force and threats into the teens, new personality traits may seem to appear when this method of control can no longer be applied. In spite of the emphasis of books and courses in child training upon better methods of control, many of the present generation of adolescents were reared with chief dependence upon whipping and other forms of physical punishment to secure obedience. Small children may be coerced into outward conformity with parental demands by such means. Adolescents cannot be, and the adolescent who suddenly finds herself freed from this control by physical force may for a time at least give full rein to unrestrained or even anti-social impulses. Such behavior does not indicate the emer-

gence of totally new traits, but, rather, the violent reaction to earlier repressions and thwartings of the child's natural impulses.

It is true, of course, that during the period of the teens many organs of the body reach maturity, as does the inborn mental capacity. Nevertheless, the behavior of human beings is not blindly controlled by instincts or the force of native impulses. Every native impulse is shaped by social influences, and every act is both the result of psychological traits and a response to a social situation. Thus, interest of the girl in boys is usually thought of as a typically adolescent reaction, developing hand in hand with the physical maturity of the girl. One has only to think over one's own acquaintances, however, to find girls who were interested in boys long before adolescence, and other girls who seemingly have never had any particular interest in boys. A small girl may like a certain boy and through the teasing of other children and adults have her name linked with his, and thus develop a precocious interest in emotionally tinged friendships with boys. The very plain advertisements of the present day may arouse an early curiosity about sex, and the newspaper stories of intrigues and divorce which some children read cannot help but arouse a certain curiosity and interest.

In addition to this social control, every native impulse is controlled by the total personality type. Intelligence, for instance, does not stand alone. The keenly intelligent girl may never use her full mental capacity because she has very naïve and infantile emotional reactions—she is credulous, afraid, dependent, timid.

Nor does it seem true that physical maturity is corre-

lated with maturity of other functions of the human being. In fact, not all parts of the body mature at the same time. The most extreme and easily observed case is that of the physically mature person who, through some defect of the germ plasm, has and will always have the mentality of a small child. Mental maturity will never come. Girls very finely developed physically may be dull mentally, and girls very weak physically may be brilliant mentally. There seems to be no dependable correspondence between superb physical development and superior mental attainments. As for emotional development, there is no definite age when maturity may be expected. More than almost any other human trait, emotional reactions depend upon the past history of social experiences rather than upon growth and age.

So long as life changes, personality changes. But the changes that come are rooted in the past. One of the most important contributions of psychoanalysis to the understanding of human nature is the assertion that early childhood experiences—even ones which have been forgotten by the person—may have an important influence on the personality of the adult. The girl brings with her into adolescence and youth mental and emotional habits, interests, prejudices and knowledge acquired throughout the preceding twelve or fifteen years. The new physiological and social experiences of adolescence may make changes in her personality, but they do not remake her entirely.

Nor is personality definitely set at the end of adolescence. It is true that as the years go by, habits become more deeply ingrained and personality becomes more fixed and less easily changed. Nevertheless, any period

of marked change may cause great changes in personality. A woman in the late twenties whose chief interests were her home, husband, son, and a gay social life became a widow. Ten years later she was a well-trained, competent professional woman, earning a good income and with wide interests in social welfare. A genial man who loved children was injured and for weeks lay in a hospital bed with intense suffering. He became irritable and grew to hate the children who passed laughing through the corridor. Old people frequently change in many respects as they pass from active life into passive life, as they lose command of family and community affairs.

It would seem, then, that there is not some mysterious quality about adolescence which causes changes in personality. The changes in the organization of the adolescent's life call forth changes in personality. If the adolescent girl has been trained to be independent and self-confident, and if she has a satisfying and well-ordered life, the personality changes will be slight. If new demands are put upon her, if she is thrown into new situations, then there may be marked changes in personality, especially if her earlier training has been inadequate.

YOUTH DEFINED

By youth in girls we mean that period between the more or less protected state of the schoolgirl who still depends for her major decisions upon parents and teachers, and the independent state of the adult who knows that she must make her own decisions and control her own life. The period is variable. Even before they leave high school some girls have evolved for themselves cer-

tain guiding principles. Some women in the thirties and forties have never learned to be independent but mentally and emotionally are still childlike. As a working definition we may perhaps call childhood and adolescence those periods of life when the body is not physically grown, when inborn mental capacity has not reached its fullest development, and when legally and socially the girl is not expected to take the final responsibility for her acts nor to plan her full round of living. In contrast, the fully developed adult is physically mature in body and has reached the full development of inborn mental capacities. She should be mature also in her capacity to learn independently of the schoolroom, to face her difficulties with some assurance of her ability to meet them, to be economically independent, to accept her share of community responsibilities.

The youth shares with the adult maturity of bodily functions and inborn mental endowment. But she is usually not mature and competent in the uses she makes of her mental powers, or in her emotional and social life. Physically she is an adult; psychologically and socially she is all too apt to be a child. The period of youth is granted concessions by the adult community. The girl in the late teens who is first tasting the independence of youth is not expected to meet her problems fully. But the girl in the early twenties, who is beginning to be looked upon as a woman, is expected to be self-controlled, competent to face and solve her problems. This period of learning to use her capacities fully is the period of youth. It is set off, not by physiological changes, but by the new social demands of college or job, of independence from school and home, of finding new friends, of

meeting community duties, of rounding out a philosophy of life.

THOUGHT PROVOKERS

1. Think of several girls in the teens whom you know well. List the chief characteristics of each one (as, likes to read, is timid, likes tennis). Compare these to discover whether there seems to be one type of personality which all adolescents have or whether adolescents differ as much as other people do.
2. Name as many changes as you can which typically occur in the life-situations of girls in your community (as going to college, beginning work). In what ways do each of these make new demands upon the girls?
3. What are the chief differences between childhood and adulthood?
4. Do you know adults who are still childlike? In what ways have they failed to grow up? How do these childlike traits handicap them?

CHAPTER II

HOW PERSONALITY DEVELOPS

WHAT IS PERSONALITY?

OUR purpose in this chapter is to outline more fully the processes by which personality develops, in order better to understand the personality problems of later adolescence, or youth.

It is easier to describe a personality than to define the term. Thus, one girl may walk with a boyish stride, have her hair cropped short, wear tailored sport clothes, and like athletics and adventure. Another may appear habitually in clinging dresses, give great care to the manicuring of her nails and the curling of her hair, like to read romantic novels, and use every device of look and gesture to secure masculine attention. We might say in speaking of the first girl that she is a tomboy, of the second that she is a flirt. Many words call immediately to mind a complete picture of a personality—schoolmarm, old maid, hausfrau, bully, sissy, tomboy, social butterfly, athlete. We associate with each term certain habits of walking, dressing, speaking and certain interests and attitudes. Thus if we call a school-teacher a schoolmarm, we usually mean that she is very precise, reserved, cold in manner, that she dresses in a conservative manner, and has little interest in human beings. Most people, perhaps fortunately, cannot be classified into such definite types as those mentioned above. Nevertheless, they have personalities—they exhibit rather habitually certain char-

acteristic habits and attitudes which in time come to be taken for granted. The process of becoming acquainted in a new group or new community is in part the process of coming to know the habits and attitudes of new acquaintances which may be taken for granted. It becomes common knowledge in a community that A never goes with boys, that it would do a boy no good to ask A for a "date"; that B has an intense dislike for Negroes and that it would be a waste of time to ask her to do social service work with Negro children.

A loose definition of personality may now be given—the constellation of attitudes and habits by which a person may be characterized. From another point of view, personality is the synthetic total impression which one characteristically makes on other persons.

By the time a girl is sixteen or eighteen years old she has a rather definitely developed personality. To understand how her personality develops is to understand how it may be guided and even changed.

THE SOCIAL MOLD

A wise sociologist has said, "Man is not born human." The human part of us is not the physical structure, the mental and emotional capacities with which we are born, but the use we have made of physical structure, mental and emotional capacities. This use is determined largely by the family into which we were born, the community in which we live, the people we meet, the books we read. The bodily or organic structure is born, but the content of life is made from social interaction and contacts.

The account which follows shows the social mold in which the personality of the Italian girl is formed. It

may be compared point by point with the social conventions which control the American girl. This background of moral and social conventions, embodied in the family, the church, other community institutions and the habits of older people, gives the broad outlines to personality.

In dealing with an Italian girl, it is essential to realize that one has to do not so much with an individual as with an integral and almost inseparable part of a family group, and that this group is in turn an integral part of a nation . . . whose standard for its women is still that of Cæsar's wife. . . .

The standards set by such an Italian [typical immigrant] for his daughter are as simple as they are rigid. The outstanding destiny for an Italian girl in Italy is to marry early. She matures earlier than the American girl and is considered an old maid at eighteen, an incurable old maid and family liability at twenty. Education not being considered a necessary preparation for marriage, she receives but little of it, . . . and spends her girlhood closely within the heart of her family. . . . While she is under the protection of her family, cosmetics are unknown to her, short skirts and silk stockings disapproved. Public dances are strictly forbidden, and, when permitted to seek amusements outside the home circle, she is always chaperoned by some member of her family. . . .

Prior to her marriage the Italian girl is not allowed to receive the attentions of any man except her prospective fiancé, who is generally chosen for her by her father from among the sons of his friends, or even from his distant relatives, the general strengthening and binding together of the family being a vital consideration in such marriages. Even after the engagement, the betrothed pair are not permitted to go out together or even see each other alone, although this convention is, perhaps, adhered to more strictly by the leisure class than by families less

affluent, whose daughters, forced to join in the general household duties or to enter the business world, have a little more freedom. . . .

Such is the background and such the standards with which the Italian girl comes to America—or, if she is born here, such is the background and such the standards to which her parents still wish her to conform. Here, as in Italy, the Italian girl is generally the least important member of her family. Her father and brothers, by the very fact of their sex, hold complete authority over the home, while her mother has precedence over her in the respect that the bearing of children always commands among her people. . . . This submission the Italian father is usually prepared to enforce through corporal punishment; a thorough beating is his way of meeting insubordination, no matter how old his daughter is. . . .

In addition to this subservience, the Italian girl inherits a profound sense of obligation toward her parents, for a feeling of being closely bound to one another in mutual support and protection is an outstanding characteristic of Italian family relationship.¹

The Italian girl is Italian not because she has Italian blood in her veins but because she is reared in a family and a community which adheres to a certain type of culture. She comes in time to reflect in her ideals, ambitions, and ways of living these community conventions and standards. In like manner, the American girl embodies the traditions and conventions of the community where she has been reared.

This cultural background differs radically from group to group. If the reader will compare our own culture with that of almost any other nation or primitive group,

¹ Marjorie Roberts, "Italian Girls on American Soil," *Mental Hygiene*, XIII (October, 1929), pp. 757-68.

he will understand why each cultural group tends to develop a definite type of personality—why the Jew has one set of attitudes and habits, the Christian another, or why the Kentucky mountaineer differs from the typical New Yorker. It is possible for a person with experience to name the cultural origin of another person from observation of habits, attitudes, manner of speech, and dress. In a convention, let us say, attended by hundreds of young people from many parts of the country, in most cases it is soon possible to distinguish the college girl from the factory girl, the urban girl from the rural, by the small mannerisms and attitudes which appear in casual contacts or conversations. Each girl in her own personality reflects the cultural background of her community.

The cultural background becomes of acute importance when the girl moves from one community to another of a different type. The conflicts and confusion which the girl may experience are illustrated in the discussion of the Italian girl who finds herself living in an American community.

The Italian girl, as she comes through her school work and her employment into contacts with girls of other nationalities and standards, begins to compare her home and her life with their's, and resents the difference. First of all, she resents her nationality. She meets here a certain intolerance and misunderstanding of her race; its members are called "wops" and "dagos" and are spoken of as "our criminal class." She begins to feel ashamed of her heritage and incurs the bewildered anger of her parents by refusing to speak Italian even at home and by insisting on adopting American customs and American manners—often much to her detriment, for

she is inherently modest and serious and does not make a convincing flapper. . . .

The Italian girl who longs for an education, and later a career, comes face to face with a well-nigh insurmountable barrier of opposition. Her parents feel that no education, aside from what she acquires in her mother's kitchen, is necessary. It is difficult to get the Italian father to carry out school laws; he is a frequent offender in evading regulations and falsifying his children's ages in order to secure their working permits. Moreover, he objects strongly to the mixing of sexes in our schools, unable as he is to understand boy-and-girl companionship.²

No less real is the confusion in which the rural girl often finds herself when she first goes to the city to live; or the inability of the urban girl to find pleasure in the simpler life of the small town.

The person who would understand girls must be willing to discover the cultural background of each girl. A class or club of girls may include girls reared in a community where many forms of recreation are taboo—dancing, card-playing, and the like. A Y. W. C. A. in one city found itself handicapped in its efforts to work with a Swedish community because it sponsored social dances and tap-dancing classes. A community center in Chicago, on the borderline between Negro and white residential areas, found itself unable to secure the support of certain white groups because it sought to serve both groups, and had organized clubs and classes for Negro children. Successful work with girls can come only with an understanding of these tremendous cultural forces which have helped to shape their personalities.

This statement does not mean that a social institution

² Marjorie Roberts, *ibid.*, pp. 761-62.

can eliminate from its program all types of activities objected to by some member or group of members, but that there should be careful understanding of the cultural backgrounds and of the enormous force which these have in shaping the prejudices and attitudes of people; that the institution should count the cost beforehand of running counter to the established moral standards and customs of the major group it serves.

PERSON-TO-PERSON INFLUENCES

Within each larger cultural group there are many personality types. Among urban girls as among rural girls, there are prudes and flirts, studious girls and social butterflies, timid girls and aggressive girls, repressed girls and uninhibited girls, delinquent girls and well-behaved girls.

These finer facets of personality by which we distinguish people within a cultural group are quite largely due to social interaction. A girl becomes a tomboy or a flirt in part at least because of the pressures and pulls exerted upon her by people around her. Kimball Young in his interesting discussion of "The Social Antecedents of Human Behavior"³ refers to these influences as the personal-social or person-to-person influences. They are apt to be spontaneous, immediate, unconsidered reactions; they are the reactions found within the family or the intimate play group and may be illustrated by the way a girl reacts to an outburst of temper on the part of the parent, to punishment, to ridicule from a playmate, to praise from a school-teacher. These personal-social influences are powerful forces in forming the personality.

³ In *Social Psychology*, Chapter I.

The excerpt from a life history which follows illustrates the way in which a girl's vocational plans and conception of herself were influenced by two different teachers and her mother. The girl was the daughter of German immigrant parents, who lived in the country. She was conscious of their German mannerisms, could not make friends, and felt lonely and unhappy.

At last a dream began to formulate. I should like to be a teacher; I loved children. . . . I saw the profession with all the ardor of a romantic and idealistic adolescent. In my eyes it was not ordinary now—it was glorified.

By her own efforts she earned enough money to enter the high school of a near-by town. Just when her money was about spent, a teacher in whom she had confided discouraged her in her plans.

"No" [this teacher said], "I don't think that you should go into teaching. I think that you are too nervous." It was as if someone had given me a mortal wound—me with all my dreams; didn't my attitude count for something? She herself had some definite nerve trouble and could not hold a class's attention. Soon my money was nearly all gone. I would never be successful as a teacher probably, so why waste my parents' money? I decided to stay at home.

I said nothing, but just simply didn't get ready to go to school one morning. My mother came out into the kitchen about 8:30 and found me there finishing up the work. "But why are you here?" I told her that I was going to quit. I had no more money. "Why of course you haven't. I knew it wouldn't last very long; but now that you have started to school you go on and finish." . . .

In high school my English teacher was my idol. She had a keen mind, a charming personality, and was the

most popular instructor of the school. I decided to ask her if she thought I could ever become a teacher. I put it off as long as I could and, finally, on the last day of school, at noon, I went up timidly and asked her. She was busy, but she took time for me. "Why, I think you would make an excellent teacher." She asked me to come back again in the afternoon; then she gave me a long talk on personality development. I was in the clouds again and determined now that I would go through with anything that was reasonably within my ability.⁴

PHYSICAL HERITAGE

The differences in culture and the differences in the less formal face-to-face relationships cause tremendous differences in personality. Nevertheless, underlying all this are physical structures and inborn capacities which set certain limits to one's development. Many of these physical structures are the same for everyone, for, fundamentally, all normal human beings are physically alike. Whether a girl is Eskimo or American, she has the same number and kind of arms, legs, fingers, eyes, ears, vital organs, muscles and bones, and they serve the same functions in Eskimo as in American. Racial physical differences seem much less important than they were at one time assumed to be. Skin color, hair color and texture, the shape of certain features and stature, it is true, differ from race to race and are all inherited fairly consistently from generation to generation so long as there is no intermixture of alien blood. But these are really superficial differences when compared with the likenesses—and throughout the human species regardless of race the organs of the body remain the same, mental capacity

⁴ E. W. Burgess, editor, *Personality and the Social Group*, pp. 126ff.

and emotional feeling are everywhere present. These very fundamental structures with which we are born determine many aspects of our lives. We did not fly until airplanes were invented because we had no wings. Professional divers excepted, we can remain under water only so long as we can hold our breath because we have no apparatus for breathing under water. But these limitations, being universal, are accepted without comment.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

Although all normal human beings have essentially the same structure and capacities, there are many individual differences. From the point of view of personality development, some of the most important of these differences concern the degree of some psychological trait which the girl possesses.

Mental capacity is an inborn individual characteristic which has received much study during the past two or three decades. Mental or "intelligence" tests have been devised to discover the degree of reasoning power, of critical capacity, general information, memory span, imagination, and other traits. Since, to a certain extent, these tests are based upon what a person has learned in school, it is not fair to compare directly an illiterate person and a college graduate on all parts of the tests. The tests do seem to distinguish differences between persons who have been exposed to the same educational and cultural experiences. Thus if two girls have been reared in comfortably well-to-do families, if they have parents who read and who encourage them to read, and if they have attended the same school, it is reasonable to suppose that differences in answering the questions on an

intelligence test are due to differences in the girls' capacity to acquire knowledge. Other parts of the tests seem almost entirely divorced from education. Thus, the number of words or figures which a person can repeat after they have been said to him seems to have little to do with education. This test of memory measures an inborn capacity.⁵

It is generally accepted that some few people are idiots, that others are stupid and dull, that many are normally bright, and that a few are brilliant in learning. Intelligence tests furnish a short-cut method to classifying people. Many people have been tested and classifications have been made. Thus Professor A. S. Otis, on the basis of wide experience in testing, estimates that in a cross-cut sample of population five per cent of the people would be feeble-minded or borderline cases, fifteen per cent would be dull mentally, sixty per cent normal, fifteen per cent would have superior mentality, and five per cent very superior mentality.⁶

Several years ago one of the authors gave the Otis intelligence test to 277 young business girls in Y. W. C. A. classes and conferences. The scores on the tests show the vast differences existing among individuals in this group of normal girls, all of whom were self-supporting and capable of taking their places in the business and social life of their communities: 2.5 per cent were borderline cases, 6.1 per cent ranked as dull, 53.5 per cent as normal, 25.6 per cent as superior and 12.3 per cent as

⁵ See Chapter VI for a discussion of intelligence in relation to other personality traits.

⁶ A. S. Otis, *Percentile Graph for Otis Self-Administering Tests of Mental Ability*.

very superior in intelligence. It is significant that some of the most promising girls intellectually earned only small salaries and had mediocre positions.⁷

More recently attempts have been made to measure other aspects of personality and to evaluate differences. One of the most interesting of these projects has been carried out by Professor L. L. Thurstone, a psychologist at the University of Chicago. He has constructed a "Personality Schedule," which is in reality an inventory of 223 neurotic traits, stated in the form of questions to which the person answers Yes or No. Such questions as these are included: As a child did you like to play alone? Do you usually control your temper? Do you get stage fright? Have your relationships with your mother always been pleasant? Have you ever had the habit of stuttering?⁸

The test is based upon symptoms of neurotic and abnormal personality and is intended to indicate whether or not a person is well-adjusted emotionally and socially or whether he is neurotic. The results obtained by Professor Thurstone from college freshmen who took the test indicate the differences in reactions of people in the later teens. The test is scored by the simple device of counting one for each "neurotic" answer. Since there are 223 questions, the largest score possible would be 223; thus, if a student had given a "neurotic" answer to every question, the score would be 223; on the other hand, a student who gave a "non-neurotic" answer to every

⁷ Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Business Girls, A Study of Their Interests and Problems*, p. 30.

⁸ L. L. Thurstone and T. G. Thurstone, "A Neurotic Inventory," *Journal of Social Psychology*, I (February, 1930), 3-30.

question would have a score of 0. This would be the perfectly adjusted person. Actually, in one class of 694 freshmen, the lowest score was 5, the highest 134. The scores made by the 307 girls are distributed as follows:

	Number of Girls
Scores	
0-9	10
10-19	27
20-29	57
30-39	53
40-49	53
50-59	42
60-69	24
70-79	20
80-89	6
90-99	10
100-109	5

Professor Thurstone considers girls with scores of 65 or above to be emotionally maladjusted and those with scores under 45 to be very well-adjusted, the average group having scores of 45 to 64. Those with scores of 85 or more (of whom there were seventeen) should have psychiatric treatment. Thus in this group of freshmen, all graduates of high schools, are found girls ranging all the way from the very well-adjusted to those seemingly so emotionally maladjusted as to require definite treatment.

Intelligence levels and neurotic tendencies illustrate what is probably true for all phases of temperament or personality—that there are wide individual differences, even within a group which commonly would be accepted as normal. True, the majority of the group has a middle

or average rating, with great thinning out in numbers as the extremes in either direction are approached. Nevertheless, there is always an appreciable number who differ from the normal or majority group.

With reference to the neurotic tendencies uncovered by the Thurstone schedule, it is not clear whether such tendencies are inborn or whether they have been acquired through childhood experiences. It may be that there is some inherited trait (or lack of a trait) which makes emotional and social adjustment difficult—and any such deficiency would undoubtedly be accentuated in a social environment attuned to the normal or average individual.

There are many traits which we think of as "temperament." Shyness, boldness, irritability, cheerfulness, a sympathetic attitude, stubbornness, strength of will, and many other types of reaction are commonly referred to as temperament. So far little has been accomplished in the attempt to measure differences in these traits. Moreover, it is not possible to distinguish between the inborn quality and the effect of social contacts and training. Little can be said except that long before adolescence is reached children exhibit differences of these sorts.

FUNDAMENTAL URGES

Another quality of personality about which there is much discussion is the so-called wish or urge or fundamental impulse—some innate drive which compels the person to seek satisfaction. Many psychologists and sociologists have attempted to classify and name these urges—and rarely do two men agree. An early classification gave the desire for food and the sex impulse as

the two fundamental drives; in seeking satisfaction for these two desires, the theorists said, human customs and institutions had been evolved. Another widely quoted list is that devised by W. I. Thomas, with four "wishes"—the desire for response or personal intimacy; the desire for social recognition; the desire for security; and the desire for new experience. Still a third basis for classification is the six prepotent reflexes of Allport—rejecting, struggling, hunger, starting and withdrawing, sex reactions, and reactions of sensitive zones. Each psychologist has observed certain reactions and has tried to view all of life in terms of these reactions—but the very fact that reputable psychologists cannot agree indicates that a reliable list cannot be given until much further study has been given to the matter.

It will be noted that nothing has been said about instincts. Due to the inability to distinguish inborn reactions from ones acquired through the social heritage, it has been necessary to discard the systems of instincts with which textbooks in psychology once abounded. When reactions appear, they do not appear as definite inborn reactions, alike in all persons, but, rather, as habits which have developed out of the community customs. True, they may have a physical and inborn basis; nevertheless, they do not appear in elemental form, but, rather, as socially acquired habits. The point is simply illustrated by food habits. No one doubts that everyone becomes hungry. This is the instinctive, physical, inborn element. What one eats is socially acquired, and whether it is monkey meat, blubber, or roast beef depends largely upon whether one was reared in Africa, the Arctic, or England. Moreover, to the person himself,

the impulse does not come in its elemental form but, rather, in its socialized form. When hungry, a person does not wish merely for food but for a specific food of which he is fond because it is a food to which he has become accustomed.

Practically, then, the impulse in the form in which it appears in everyday life may be regarded as a result of the social pattern. This does not mean that it is any less strong than if it had been entirely or in part inborn. The force of custom and of community expectation is enormous. Instead of puzzling over the possible inborn or instinctive character of adolescent behavior it is much more to the point to observe the dominant adolescent interests and patterns of conduct as they appear in a given group and to seek how they may be guided and satisfied in a socially desirable manner.

ADOLESCENCE A NORMAL PHENOMENON

It is the thesis of this book that the problems and the apparent personality changes of adolescence and youth are explainable in terms of the processes briefly set forth in this chapter. Long before adolescence the girl's personality pattern has been determined, in some measure by her physical inheritance, but also by the culture of her community and by the personal influences of parents, teachers and friends. She changes during adolescence to the extent that changes in her cultural background and in personal contacts may modify the previous organization of her interests and emotional habits. Her own developing capacities are integrated into the personality pattern previously set.

Although it may seem to adults who view adolescents

from a distance that they are all alike and all a bit strange, any group of girls when viewed at close range will be found to include dull and brilliant girls, well-adjusted and maladjusted girls, timid and aggressive girls. Whether from inherited characteristics or as the result of social and personal contacts, girls differ.

The chapters which follow discuss the girl first in her social setting of home, job and friends, then with reference to such personality traits as intelligence and emotions. The book closes with a consideration of the need for a life philosophy.

THOUGHT PROVOKERS

1. Describe the cultural background of conventions, traditions, and moral codes of some girl which causes her to seem of a different personality type from most girls.
2. What are some of the most common face-to-face methods of controlling adolescents? (Such as gossip, ridicule, and so forth.) Illustrate with specific incidents.
3. Think of several adolescent girls whom you know well and trace from childhood on the development of some of their most dominant characteristics. Have they other traits which have appeared later and which you cannot trace at all?
4. Do all adolescents follow the same religious development? How would you explain the fact that some adolescents seem especially interested in religion while others lose all interest? Is this due to some psychological trait or to the type of religious experience and training the girl has been through? Illustrate by cases of which you know.

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CHAPTER III

THE GIRL AND HER FAMILY

IMPORTANCE OF THE FAMILY

BECAUSE it is the first group of which the girl is a member, because its relationships are highly emotional, its authority complete and continuous, the home deserves first importance in any discussion of the social influences which affect the girl. Nothing is gained either by the sentimental attitude that the family is a sacred institution and therefore cannot be wrong, or by the wholesale condemnation of present-day trends in family life. Rather, the family must be thought of as a group of persons, some older, some younger, each with dominant interests, each more or less controlled by social conventions, usually loving each other, occasionally hating each other, often in accord, sometimes in conflict. Two girls, now in college, both rather well-adjusted socially and emotionally, have described the very different types of homes from which they came.¹

The first narrative was written by the older of two children, the daughter of a skilled tradesman who lived in a middle-class American community.

¹ These cases have been chosen from a series of several hundred secured for the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection by the Subcommittee on the Function of Home Activities in the Education of the Child. Professor E. W. Burgess, of the University of Chicago, was chairman of this Subcommittee and Ruth Shonle Cavan was research assistant. The second of the two cases is quoted in full in the report of this Subcommittee.

My parents should not have married. They came of different social levels, intellectual standards, and ideals. They entered the marriage relationship without any real love for one another.

My father was one of a large family. He was reared on a farm and had only a few years of schooling. He rebelled at the tyranny of his father and ran away from home when he was eighteen. Since that time he has never seen his parents.

My mother came of people who were intellectual but philosophical. She had superior cultural advantages for her day. She had two years of college work and taught for three or four years before her marriage. She was a high-strung, witty, sometimes bitingly sarcastic woman. She had quarreled with the young man she was to marry and for spite married the man who is my father.

Father's object in marriage was to have someone to keep house and cater to his physical comfort. He looked upon women and children as man's personal property and in his own home has been as selfish and cantankerous, as was his own father against whose tyranny he rebelled. He has been an unhappy man—unsuccessful financially with his highest aim a financial one.

My mother was not well during the time that we were little children. She was such a fastidious housekeeper that about all she could do was to do all her housework, sewing, washing, ironing, and tend to us two children. She had no time to love us or really to enjoy us.

My mother and father disagreed a great deal, both being very dominant types. My mother always made it a point never to say anything before us children. But my father's favorite battleground was the dining room table. Incidentally, I nearly died of indigestion.

As a child I was fond of my brother but at the same time rather jealous of him. He seemed to fit into the family where I did not. My father and mother were both fond of him and my father especially did not seem

to care for me. I remember being punished for things my brother had done and the resentment I felt. For the most part my mother was fair in her punishments, but my father never punished either of us when he was not angry. I have seen him kick my brother brutally.

I was very fond of my maternal grandmother and spent much time with her. She influenced me against my father. She disliked him very much.

My school work compensated for much in my home life that was not wholly desirable. I was a good student who studied and worked consistently for the pure joy of working, and who always made good grades. I was a leader in my own group. I played with boys almost exclusively until I was twelve or thirteen. I was shy with girls and adults.

When I was just ready to enter high school we moved to another part of the country. I could not seem to make new contacts. I was physically under par and suffered a nervous breakdown. I became increasingly conscious of the friction in my home and of the fact that I was acquainted with neither of my parents. I felt misunderstood and mourned the fact that there was no demonstration of affection in the family. I did not know how to get along with girls and no longer wanted to associate with boys; in fact, I was now very ill at ease in their presence. My family teased me every time a boy showed me any attention. My four years in high school were very unsatisfactory, emotionally. I hated my father intensely.

The second narrative shows a very different type of home background. The girl in this case is a "middle child," the daughter of a professional man in a small city:

As a child I was never shy around other children of either sex. I liked them and expected most of them to

like me. Most of them did. I was usually "boss" in the games on the playground; and when we started playing team games, I was usually chosen captain. I took these opportunities for leadership very much for granted and was never especially elated over the honor attached to them.

I didn't consider myself beautiful; but my looks didn't bother me at all, except that I would have liked curly hair very much. I considered myself rather bright—indeed, my family often joke about the time I bragged to friends of theirs that I was the "smartest girl in our class."

I got along well with other children, in spite of the fact that I always tried to run everything. I dearly loved to play with dolls—especially little ones or paper dolls—but I was also quite a tomboy. . . .

Mother always read to us every night—a Bible story and one other story. I liked to be read to—at the end of the day when I was quiet in bed—but I never sat still long enough during the day to read to myself.

As father was always very busy, mother was more of a chum. We went on many hikes and picnics, often inviting other children to go with us. Usually all three of us children went on these excursions.

On Sundays we played games, had charades, and acted out Bible stories. Mother always played with us and often many other children came in to share the fun. Sometimes mother read to us—or we all made taffy or popcorn balls. Sundays were fun. . . .

There was a great deal of unity in family ideals and ambitions. Mother and father apparently had very clear conceptions of how they wanted us to turn out. They never disagreed or quarreled (at least not to our knowledge). Mother was proud of father's success and father was equally proud of mother. . . . Neither parent was sick or nervous until I was about sixteen. All during my childhood they both were very vigorous, ener-

getic and not the least bit nervous or irritable. . . . All of us felt that mother and father were very much interested in us and anxious to help us in any way we might require help. . . .

I always admired and respected both parents. When I was little, I was especially proud of father, but I have since come to appreciate mother just as much. I liked them both very much, but was never homesick when away from home. They always understood me pretty well. I felt neither superior nor inferior to the family, but as if we were all far above the average. I never objected to anything that my parents did. They never did anything objectionable. I sometimes wanted them to go out more, but since they didn't want to I didn't care. I never wished I were dead or attempted to run away. I liked living and I was well satisfied at home.

I have questioned some of the ideals I received from my parents, but I haven't definitely thrown them over for any new and complicating ones. However, I feel free to do so if I should change my mind on any of these subjects, for my parents regard me as an adult, capable of making my own decisions.

DEVELOPING EMOTIONAL SELF-DEPENDENCE

The older adolescent, no matter how independent she may think herself, cannot disregard her family. Rarely is a young girl found who is wholly indifferent to her parents, her brothers, and sisters. She has an emotional response to them—she loves them or she hates them; she cannot ignore them. The little child normally receives all her emotional life in the family group. As a girl matures, her emotional life should be less concentrated upon her family. She should be friendly toward her family, but not so completely tied into the emotional pattern that she cannot carry on her own life independ-

ently. In her inability to free herself from emotional dependence upon her family lies one of the problems of many adolescents—a problem which has been much emphasized during the past decade by psychiatrists dealing with adolescents.

In the day when the girl lived at home until she was married and then lived within a block or two of her parents with daily communication and allegiance to the same community standards, a close emotional bond between daughter and parents could be continued without great difficulty. Now, many girls leave home to enter college or go to some other city to work or they marry young men from other towns. A too-engrossing emotional bond with the parental home makes the breaking of home ties difficult and leads to homesickness and sometimes to the abandonment of the enterprise. One girl, the youngest of the family, during adolescence went in two successive years to a girls' camp. Both times she spent the first few days in camp in tears and then returned home before the camp period had ended. When the time for college came, she attended for a year and then returned home to live, commuting each day to a near-by city to work, but refusing to live in the city. An older sister is aggressive and independent; the younger one is so bound to her parents emotionally that she cannot lead an independent life. Sometimes such emotional bondage is so great that the girl finds no interest in men friends and does not marry. Girls need friends of their own age—both girls and men. Love of parents tends to be protective, and of a different quality from the love of people the girl's own age. Parental love makes many demands on the daughter's love and loyalty but fewer

on her abilities to prove herself a competent person. The parental affection which keeps the girl too closely at home, which places the parents in the center of the girl's love and attention, is unwise.

Much of the responsibility for this too-close emotional bond is the parents', especially the mother's. Dr. Leta Hollingworth, in her *Psychology of the Adolescent*, has an excellent discussion of the situation. Women have had many of their duties taken from them, she says. Formerly, housekeeping duties, the care of children and, later, of grandchildren, carried the woman through the middle years into a contented old age. Now, however, smaller families are customary, and when the mother's own children have grown to adolescence, she often finds herself without an occupation. No one seems to need her. In the effort to maintain her feeling of importance she tends to cling to her children. The youngest child, in particular, is often kept in a dependent state. The mother's point of view is expressed in the following letter, recently published in a woman's magazine:

Ten years ago it was necessary for me to take over the rearing, educating, and making a living alone for my children. During these years I scarcely had a thought beyond my work, the home, and the children, but now they have nearly finished school and I am just beginning to find that I am not as essential to them as I used to be.

Their lives are full of many things, as they should be. I would not have it different. But what am I to do? I just don't know how to face the coming years—no, not that, for they will come and I will meet them; but is there any way to fill in the days so they will not be too lonely?

Thousands of women have had to meet just the same

problem. What have they done? I grow a little panicky at times when I think of gray hairs multiplying, wrinkles deepening, when what I really feel like doing is picking up where I left off so many years ago, and dancing, flying, living, doing active, varied things. Don't think I'm too foolish, but I haven't had time for these things, and I suppose the desires were lying dormant when other things pressed and two days' work had to be done in one.

My youngest daughter, sixteen years old, is giving a party downstairs. I have been down to meet the guests, and red-headed Jerry proudly told me he could almost play a piece on the saxophone. There is much talking and laughing and eating of ice-cream—and I am upstairs in my room. A few years from now my youngest may marry red-headed Jerry, and I won't even have the comforting sound of a party as I sit alone in my room.

How does a woman prepare for the lonely years? How does she meet them? Are they as bleak as they look, creeping toward me?²

Under the term "psychological weaning," Doctor Hollingworth emphasizes the necessity for freeing the child, whether girl or boy, from dependence on the parents. Professor Ernest R. Groves, in speaking of this same need for emotional independence, states that the child should be "graduated" from the home into independence of attitudes and interests, as he now is graduated from school.

This dependence of the daughter upon her parents is not only one of love and affection. The parents often tend to supervise closely all of the daughter's activities. The daughter's marriage becomes a matter for the parents' rather than the daughter's decision. A girl in the early twenties, who is self-supporting and who does not work in the town where her parents live, writes:

² *Pictorial Review*, April, 1930.

Mother and father have always felt that their main mission in life was to rear their children in the proper way. I am the oldest of five children. I have a sister eighteen, a sister eight, a brother seven and a sister five years old. My folks sent me to college for two years. My parents have always tried to guide me in all my friendships as best they knew. The one thing my family have been very strict about is my boy friends. They did not allow me to have dates in high school or college. Once in a while I got to go to a church party where the boys were. I was never allowed to dance or play cards. Of course this kept me out of the college sorority which I had had faint hopes of joining. I have never deeply resented any of this, however, and have understood how my parents thought it for my own good. I was not allowed to go to picture shows until I was eighteen.

My early childhood and girlhood were very happy—what any girl would enjoy. I never had to work hard at home and had plenty of time for studies. I started to work after my two years of college, and it was really then that life changed for me and troubles began.

One thing that troubles me is my companionship with young men. My family have always opposed it and have purposely kept me away from them. When I was in high school, I didn't want such company. In college I felt the need once in a while, but now I wonder what will be the outcome. I go with a young man whom I met a year ago on my vacation, but the family does not approve. They have a general objection to men and a very strong objection to this particular man. As he has no business of his own and no college education, they think it terrible for me even to give him any of my time. I find myself slowly agreeing and turning over to their side, first, because of the duty I feel falls upon me; second, because of these standards I have had since a little girl. I have analyzed it all very well, I think. As I was an only child for so long, my parents gave me so much of their time

and effort that they want to see "big results." In their minds, "big results" would be to make my mark in the world. They think if I should marry, it would all be ruined, because I would want a family. Then, too, we have three small children [her brother and sisters] in the family now. My mother and father think if I should marry, my interests would be on a family of my own and not on my brother and sisters, where they feel my duty should be. It seems to me (everybody thinks I am wrong) a matter of duty to give in to my parents. The reason I am doing that is that I feel I owe them so much for the happiness they have given me.

Later, this girl stopped going with the young man in question, who was thoroughly in love with her. She wrote that she saw many undesirable qualities in him, put into her mind by her parents. She did not give him up without some conflict, however, for she wrote:

Can't you see with all this it is going to make it very hard for me to marry? It is going to be very hard for me to find a young man who is making over twice my salary [necessary to satisfy her parents]. Right now I have no desire to marry, not for several years yet. Then most of the men of my age who have enough money will be married. It's terrible to feel that way, maybe, but my parents seem to have driven these standards into me, so that I cannot give them up.³

Finances are another matter in which the parents may

³ From the collection of unpublished case studies now in possession of the authors, totaling about five hundred cases. Some of these cases have been collected by the authors in connection with teaching in various cities or in connection with earlier research projects. Others have been turned over to them by various college and university teachers. In addition, the authors have had access to the White House Conference series, referred to elsewhere. Unless otherwise stated, all excerpts from cases are from the authors' series.

seek to retain control, especially over their daughters. Among the business girls in the Y. W. C. A. who were studied by one of the writers, it was quite customary for the girl when she first began to work to give all of her money to her mother, receiving in return a small allowance for lunches, carfare, and perhaps for part of her clothing. Usually the mother helped the daughter (in her late teens) to select and pay for her clothing. This arrangement sometimes was an advantage for the daughter, for beginning salaries are often pitifully small. Quite as customary as this acceptance of economic dependence was the later desire of the girl to control her own money, even though she could buy fewer things by so doing. And usually she attained her independence from parental control only after a bitter quarrel. The struggle did not result because the daughter wished to give no money to the support of the family. No girls were found in the group studied who were not very willing to pay a certain sum to their mothers for board and room and who did not gladly help in times of illness or contribute toward new furniture or repairs on the house. The question was one of the relative status of the mother and the daughter, of whether the daughter should control the spending of the money she earned. The mother's motive was not an economic or greedy one. The potential independence of a daughter with money in her own bank account seemed to the mother to be a breaking down of the unity of the family. "I don't want any boarders in my family" was the comment of one mother when her daughter wished to pay board and room in lieu of giving her entire salary to her mother to handle.

This conflict over control of salary rarely arises with

reference to a son. It is part of the pattern of American social life that the son shall be independent. But only recently has the daughter had any life outside of the family, and many of the mothers of young girls were themselves reared under a regime of close supervision.

At other times the mother's supervision of her daughter may take the form of an overly solicitous concern for the daughter's health. The following story illustrates such a situation, the daughter's impatience with it and yet half-acceptance of her mother's attitude, her inability to adjust at college, and her final throwing off of the nervous concern for her health. The girl is the only child of parents living in a town of two thousand people.

I have never been what is commonly called an athletic type. Even in the eighth grade I missed a great deal of school. I perhaps had not the best of health habits, especially in connection with eating. I was usually permitted to eat practically whatever I wanted and at times I did not eat at all. All through high school too I was absent from school a great deal. I was of a rather nervous disposition, had headaches often and stomach disturbances. Although I never had serious illnesses, I was not in robust health. Owing to my poor state of health I have had to endure a great deal of "fussing" from my parents about how I feel. At times, I feel that if I hear one more question about it or one more plea to "be careful," I'll just give up and be sick. My mother worries continually and intensely about me, which is very tiresome. We both become irritable about it, then my father has to talk calmly to both of us, and usually ends by becoming very impatient too. My health has been a great source of nervous irritation in our family, and that is probably due to the fact that I am an only child and the only excuse for my parents to worry.

Since I have been in college there have been many readjustments. When I came, I knew practically nothing of sex. I learned much my freshman year. Needless to say, it was a terrible jolt. Then, too, I had come from a rather quiet home and to be dropped down on a very noisy dormitory corridor was another jolt. I never have grown used to it. Most of my first year in college I worked under the fear of not passing my work. Also I had appendicitis attacks, which kept me out of class. I developed the habit of crying on little pretext where it had been almost impossible to make me cry before. I worried about examinations until I was sick in bed for a week. Everything seemed of unusual magnitude.

During the summer she had an operation and returned to college in the fall. She was on several committees and again worried over her examinations. A prolonged attack of crying caused the school authorities and her parents to take her from school in the middle of the year.

After examinations were over, I packed my trunk and went home, never expecting to come back to school again. I didn't know what I was going to do and didn't much care. Of course there were many readjustments to make. I had to leave my friends at college, I had to go home to live with the endless worrying of my mother. I gradually got calmed down and later returned to college. Although I had made no evident change in my health, I was just generally better fitted to carry on my college work. In the following year and a half I missed only two classes from illness, and all without spending very much time and thought on "being careful."

The cases here quoted are typical of many in which the parents, and particularly the mother, fail to see the necessity to withdraw authority and supervision as the daughter comes into later adolescence. The mother's

attitude remains that of the protective adult toward a small and helpless child who must be protected and loved. She fears that her daughter lacks wisdom—common sense even; and she is deeply hurt if the daughter no longer finds all or most of her amusements at home. Many girls who have managed their own affairs during several years of college find during vacations that they are still regarded by their parents as immature children. The result is irritation and failure to develop the friendly adult companionship which should be the basis of the relationship between the mother and the grown daughter. Parents need have little fear that their daughters will lose interest in the home if they are granted an adult's place in the family circle. Family ties are too strong to be easily broken. The cases of conflict are usually those in which the parents have failed to realize that their daughters are approaching adulthood and should be accepted on a new basis.

THE DAUGHTER WHO REMAINS A CHILD

The failure of the daughter to develop independence may have several results.

In some cases the daughter accepts the dependent position in which she is placed and refuses to take responsibilities for her own life, refuses to build up interests and friends for herself. A teacher in the thirties—the unmarried daughter of a widowed mother—said she was not going to continue an extension course which she carried while teaching school because her mother wished her to be home more of the time and to take her out in the car during the spring months. She added, "Mother knows best." Her attitude was not that of someone

who makes certain concessions to increase the happiness of someone less active than herself, but, rather, that of the child who depends upon an older person to plan and decide.

When the daughter is the type of girl who accepts the dependent position, adjustments to new situations, as at college or in going to another city to work, are very difficult. Very often the girl will place some more aggressive and self-confident girl in her mother's place and expect from this girl the attention formerly given by her mother. In college dormitories the girl who depends upon her roommate to pack her trunk for her at vacation time is not unusual. Her mother packs the trunk for her at home. In her mother's absence she turns to the best mother-substitute she can find. Often the roommate responds to her appeal for advice and protection and gains therefrom a certain feeling of importance. Many of the "crushes" in college dormitories have more of this daughter-mother element in them than is recognized. Often the younger or weaker girl will call her older friend "mother." "Crushes"⁴ are usually regarded as a substitute for a love affair with a man. It seems, however, that they should be examined individually to discover their meaning to those involved in them.

DAUGHTER VS. MOTHER

When the daughter is not the dependent type and an amicable agreement cannot be reached as to the degree of independence she is to have, she may practice a certain amount of deceit or pit herself against her mother

⁴ For a further discussion of "crushes," see Chapter V.

and risk an open break with her parents in order to establish her independence.

A girl of twenty, employed in an office since she was sixteen and living at home with her parents in a large city, wrote:

Over a period of about three months during the spring I had a great many discussions with my parents as to whether a girl of twenty should be allowed to go out one night a week (Saturday) until twelve o'clock or after. My father said that during the week it would be all right to go out once or twice until 10 or 10:30 and that on Saturday night 11 or 11:30 was late enough—in fact, too late. We disagree also on proper places to go. The word "party" holds an awful place in the minds of my parents, and they do not know I ever went to any. . . .

During the spring the question of vacations also arose. I had hoped for some years to be able to spend a few weeks on a farm, for a complete rest and also to gain weight. I mentioned this to my father, saying that I should like to spend my vacation on the farm of my girl friend's parents. Dad objected at once, saying that the farm was no place for city girls to be. He had been on a farm once and knew how farmer boys talked about city girls. A few days before Decoration Day I mentioned to dad that I was planning to spend the week-end with my girl friend on the farm. Again he objected to my going to the farm and also to my going out of the city alone. However, I disobeyed him and went. When I came back, Mother would not speak to me and Dad was furious. That evening I left home and went to stay at the room of my girl friend. During the next few weeks while I was away from home I phoned Mother and Dad several times, but they would not consent to my spending my vacation on the farm. I told them I was going anyway. I saw no sound basis for their objections. I went to the farm for two weeks and while there

wrote Mother and sent her some snapshots I took. I told her I would be back home when I returned to the city. Mother wrote me four letters while I was gone, but would not ask me outright to return home. When I got back to the city I went home and things have been going along very smoothly. Dad asked me many questions about the country, as did Mother, and they really seemed glad that I spent my vacation as I did.

Emma is nineteen and after graduation from high school at the age of sixteen began work as a stenographer. She made an unusually high score on a standard intelligence test. She lives at home in a city with her father and mother, who speak German in the home. She writes:

When I think back over my childhood it is with both pleasure and sorrow. My father is a very wonderful man, easy-going most of the time, but when he isn't—My mother, while very good, is quite old-fashioned and clings to the old ideas with the result that recently at least there have been many tiffs at home. My sisters are the best any girl could have, one being twelve and the other fourteen years older than I am. The oldest one is a good deal like my mother, rather old-fashioned for her age, and I have had arguments with her which I do not have with the other sister, for she is younger than her years and she and I agree on everything. As I remember it when I was a child, I did not have many friends. I was bashful and unattractive and since my folks and sisters were so much older than I, and since I was with them so much, I was older than my years and still am, and so while I enjoyed the games all children play, I was inclined to be more sober than the rest.

I loved school and was always near the head of my class. I graduated when twelve and went to high school. And it was a mighty hard struggle that I had when going to high school. I couldn't get work when I was twelve

and while my mother was willing to see me go to school until I was fourteen, she couldn't get the idea of going four years. Neither of my sisters attended high school and she thought I could get along without it too. I graduated from grammar school in February, but our high school did not have classes graduating in February, so I had to go until June, and I shall never forget what I went through to convince my mother that I should go that extra four months. For six months straight we had an argument nearly every night and I was about sick but I finally won out. While Dad was with me, he could not open fire at my mother because then there would have been a real battle. I had to do without a lot of things: I never had an allowance; I had very few clothes; I had an argument every time I needed books or had to contribute something at school—my mother thought it was all nonsense. As I appreciated the fact that we were poor, I did without these things, but it was the constant nagging that I got about high school not meaning anything, that "got" me. In fact, my mother still harps on it—tells me high school didn't do me any good, that I'm fresh since I graduated, that is where I learned to be fresh, etc. It's quite discouraging at times. Nevertheless, I came out on top and probably got more out of my four years than a good many others. I didn't make many friends in high school—boys never interested me and I didn't interest the boys. I did not participate in many of the social affairs. But I was on the staff of our school paper and school annual, and was class historian, so I didn't feel that I missed anything.

There is only one regret which I have in connection with my childhood and that is that my mother wasn't younger and was not of a more sympathetic nature. My mother is not broad-minded enough to look at things in more than one way. She makes up her mind about something, and nothing in this world can change her. It has been mighty hard. She has not changed with

the times, and because I have grown up in this age and naturally have acquired present ideas and voice them and argue with her about them, she tells me I am stubborn and bull-headed. But isn't she too? I realize that a mother should always be right, but hasn't a daughter of my age a right to her own ideas and opinions—should she be treated as knowing absolutely nothing about anything all the time?

I cannot remember my mother or my father ever telling me that anything I did was good or fine. I won medals in high school and always had good marks, I play the piano well, but never have I received one ounce of praise at home. It's rather discouraging. However, I have always been told about what I don't know. For instance, I do not sew and don't care for it, and besides I am not handy with the needle, and I am forever being told how dumb I am, that I don't know anything, that just because I know stenography I think I know everything. And I get this sort of thing often. I feel desperate enough to leave home once in a while.

In a personal interview, this girl added to the points of conflict between herself and her mother. At first she gave all of her salary to her mother. Later she wished to handle it herself but attained this objective only after bitter quarrels. Her mother objects to the number of evenings she is away from home, although she never stays out late. The evenings away from home include one evening a week each at a girls' social club, a church club, and a business girls' club. She has no men friends and does not go to theaters and parties. Her mother also objected when she had her hair bobbed and objects to the dresses she wears (which are silk dresses of the general style worn by most young girls).

The basis of the conflict here is very evident. The

mother is thoroughly German in her attitude: education is not necessary for a girl; an unmarried daughter should be obedient and docile; the standards of conduct and dress of her own girlhood should be followed by her young daughter. The girl, on the other hand, is thoroughly American in speech, attitude, and dress. Intellectually, she is unusually capable and her success at school has given her confidence in her abilities. She earns sufficient money to be self-supporting.

A conflict of this sort is very hard to adjust. It is almost impossible (as this girl discovered) for the daughter to change the mother's attitudes. It is equally impossible to expect the girl, living and working in an American city, to adopt the mother's standards. To do so would isolate her entirely from her own generation. The girl understands to a certain extent her mother's position—but suffers none the less from the constant conflict. She has thought of leaving home—always a move to be avoided when possible, as it is usually attended by ill feeling and a breakdown of the family loyalty and unity. The girl who is estranged from her family because of ill feeling is in a very unhappy position.

PARENTS WHO DO NOT CARE

The dependent girl who has never established her emotional individuality from her parents and the girl who comes into open conflict with her parents because of unwarranted parental supervision have been subject to such severe maladjustments that their difficulties have been emphasized by psychologists and psychiatrists to the exclusion of other undesirable parent-daughter relationships. It has become almost an axiom of adolescent

psychology that the adolescent girl must achieve emotional independence from her parents and must find her emotional satisfactions in those of her own age. The need of the adolescent for an adult friend and confidante is often overlooked entirely. This friendly adult is not necessarily the parent; whether parent or not, the desirable relationship is one of friendship rather than of strong emotional dominance on the part of the adult with the blotting out of the girl's initiative and individuality.

The White House Conference Study to which reference has already been made⁵ brings out clearly the effectiveness of the friendly and sympathetic home in developing a well-balanced personality in the children. An inventory of neurotic traits was given to approximately eight thousand adolescents between thirteen and sixteen years old, together with a long questionnaire on family status and the attitudes of the adolescents toward their parents. In addition, the school-teachers of these boys and girls rated each one on a carefully prepared graphic rating scale of personality and character traits. The adolescents were classified, on the basis of their answers on the neurotic inventory, into three groups of well-adjusted, fairly well-adjusted, and poorly adjusted children; it was found that those who were well-adjusted came from homes in which the children confided in their parents, in which there was little friction, rather frequent demonstration of affection, little direct punishment, and in which there was a strong feeling of loyalty to the parents.

The poorly adjusted children, by contrast, were those who came from homes in which many of these factors

⁵ Report of the Subcommittee on the Function of Home Activities in the Education of the Child.

were missing. It was discovered also that the children who were rated by the teachers as having well-developed "character traits," such as honesty, courtesy, and truthfulness, came from the same types of homes as the children with few neurotic traits. On the basis of this study, we may say that confidential and sympathetic relationships between parents and children tend to produce well-adjusted adolescents.

There is great need here to distinguish between the gradual withdrawal of parents from dominance over their children's lives, while friendly sympathy is still retained, and actual indifference on the part of the parents. Indifference, harshness, and lack of sympathetic understanding set the adolescent adrift to face her problems without needed adult advice and guidance. She may under these circumstances have no conflicts with her parents and feel no emotional dependence upon them; but she also often feels lonely and unwanted—too completely detached from an intimate group which cares about her welfare.

Two excerpts are given below, showing typical reactions of college girls to indifference on the part of the parents.⁶

I think it was because of their lack of affection that I never confided in my mother or my father. I know it was not due to harsh discipline because we were not punished very often. On account of my not confiding in my mother, I received all of my sex education, very early, from my cousin. Of course it was presented to me wrongly. I have the greatest love and respect for my mother, but there is none of the companionship which makes a mother-daughter relationship beautiful. Of all

⁶ White House Conference series of case studies.

mother's children, five of whom are girls, there is not one to whom she was a companion. I think it was for this reason that mother did not have any ambitions for me. The only thing she wanted was for her children to get good jobs in a large city and send their money home. She seemed to have the idea that children were sent into the world to repay their mothers and fathers for their rearing. Father and mother loved us, but still they wanted all the financial help we could give and still have enough to pay room and board in the city.

I was the last child and came unwanted. It made me very unhappy when I was told this. I think my parents loved me, however. I was left more or less to myself. I could never confide in either of my parents. I felt that they were not interested and they did not seek my confidence. When I grew older, I told my mother more, but sometimes she told my father when I had asked her not to tell anyone, and this made me even more secretive. When I was about nine years old, my oldest brother was my hero and my happiest times were spent with him. I never felt the love for my parents that I believe other girls feel. My feeling for my father was one of fear. And at other times I sympathized with him because my mother said things against him. My parents are very kind to me now. I feel closer to them than I ever have and yet something is lacking that I feel should be there. They fully believe that I can take care of myself and make my own decisions. They agree to all my plans.

READJUSTING PARENTS AND DAUGHTER

When the emotional relations of mothers and daughters have become tangled, no one recipe can be followed in straightening them out. First it is necessary to determine what the difficulty is. Is the daughter too dependent upon the mother? Are both mother and

daughter independent but in conflict? Is the mother indifferent, critical, without understanding?

If the daughter is too dependent, a long period of retraining is usually necessary, for both mother and daughter. They cannot be torn suddenly apart and expected to make a happy adjustment to other people. This is exactly what happens when dependent girls are sent to boarding schools or to college and experience severe homesickness. Inability to study, nervousness, worry over her mother, worry over her own health may characterize the girl who has been sent away from home without first being prepared for the separation. During childhood and early adolescence she should have been taught gradually to think for herself as an independent person, to become accustomed to sleeping away from home, to make her own decisions. When this training has not been given during childhood, it must be given during later adolescence. It is, of course, necessary that both mother and daughter understand the situation, the harm that is being done, and that their co-operation should be secured. At the same time that the daughter is learning independence from her mother, the mother must learn to think of the daughter as an adult, able to care for herself. She must herself build up new interests so that her life may be filled when the daughter finally is able to be an individual.

When there is conflict between mother and daughter, it is desirable that each should understand the other's point of view. The daughter, instead of regarding her mother as willfully hampering her, may come to have a certain tolerance if she understands that the mother is merely reflecting certain creeds of her own girlhood

which may have been spent in some rural community or European village where conditions were quite different from those of the modern town or city. On the other hand, it is essential that the mother should be made to see as clearly that her daughter, in demanding the control of her own salary, the right to be away from home certain evenings in the week, to choose her own amusements and vocation, is merely following the modern trend of capable young people. On the basis of such understanding, it is usually possible to effect some sort of compromise.

In the case of the indifferent or unsympathetic mother, there is usually less emotional tension than in the other two types of relationships. But the daughter is apt to be emotionally starved and to feel herself set apart from her friends because she lacks the companionship which they seem to share with their mothers. Sometimes, if the daughter can break through her reserve and take her mother into her confidence, a new relationship can be established. When this is not possible, the daughter may often find in some friend a substitute for this companionship.

THOUGHT PROVOKERS

1. Why is the girl who is emotionally dependent handicapped? Why is she now more severely handicapped than in the past?
2. How can the emotionally dependent girl overcome this handicap? How can her mother assist her? How can the church through its activities assist both mother and daughter?
3. How can a conflict between mother and daughter

over control of finances be resolved so that friendship remains between the two?

4. Should the mother be blamed for trying to keep her daughter a "little girl" when the daughter is twenty years old? What need of the mother's causes her to do this? How can the mother detach herself from her daughter with least pain to the daughter or herself?

5. At what age should the mother begin to give her daughter independence?

6. What is the ideal relationship between a mother and her twenty-year-old daughter?

7. Define the commandment to "honor thy father and thy mother" in such a way that it will fit modern social needs. Is a new commandment needed, such as "Respect thy daughter, that she may grow into useful adulthood"?

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CHAPTER IV

GOALS: MARRIAGE AND THE JOB

AN ABIDING INTEREST NEEDED

ONE characteristic of the well-adjusted adult is the achieving of a goal about which many of the interests and activities of life may be organized. Professor Ernest W. Burgess, in answering the question, "Who is grown up?" speaks of "the change from the random multiform activity of the child to the purposeful specialized behavior of the adult. Herein lies one significance of the difference between play and work. The characteristic activities of childhood are those engaged in for their own sake because the activity itself is stimulating. Compare the spontaneity and the inconsistency of Penrod in Tarkington's delightful portrayal, with the discipline and concentration of the manhood career of an Abraham Lincoln or a Thomas A. Edison. The child has projects, but they are many and changing; the adult develops a master project, generally organized around an occupational goal, as a center for all his other activities."¹

Without some such goal, without the absorption of much of one's activity into a continuous and productive process, life becomes a heterogeneous mass of unrelated acts. Other writers speak of this goal, this master project, as a life-career motive. What career, which will sustain interest throughout life, can the young girl choose?

The achieving of a life-career motive is especially diffi-

¹ "Who Is Grown Up?" *Survey Graphic* (April, 1928), p. 17.

cult for girls. Many girls never achieve such a motive. The difficulty in part is the reasonable assumption that most girls will marry. In the past, marriage was the girl's career—her life-career motive, her goal was automatically provided for her.

An investigation of the interests of young girls indicates the degree to which girls still regard marriage as their ultimate goal. A group of 62 business girls in the Middle West who were attending a Y. W. C. A. conference were given a questionnaire to fill out. One question was, "Do you look forward to being married?" Seventy-nine per cent replied "Yes." An additional 6.5 per cent replied yes with certain stipulations, such as "If I meet my ideal," "Not before thirty-five or forty," "Eventually"; 6.5 per cent gave rather vague replies, as "Not at present," "Not seriously"; and 3.2 per cent said they did not know. Only 4.8 per cent gave an unqualified "No." The same questionnaire was given to a group of 68 upper classmen in a woman's college. Of this group, 72.1 per cent stated they wished to be married; 13.2 per cent stated "Yes" with various stipulations; 4.4 per cent gave an unqualified "No"; 5.9 per cent were not at the time interested in marriage, and 4.4 per cent were uncertain. These same groups of girls in reply to other questions evinced the same interest: 81.8 per cent of the business girls and 81.1 per cent of the college girls stated they wished to be married, in reply to the question, "What would you like to be doing when you are thirty-five years old?"²

However much we may approve of this interest in

² Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Business Girls, A Study of Their Interests and Problems*, pp. 22, 41.

marriage, it has drawbacks. Some girls do not marry, at least not for some years. They may then become dissatisfied, petulant women, with a distinct feeling of inferiority because they have not reached their goal. It is possible for women to organize their lives around other dominant interests, around a life-career other than marriage. The lives of our great women leaders give many examples of the organization of interests about some goal other than marriage. Jane Addams, Mary McDowell, Mabel Cratty, Julia Lathrop, Florence Nightingale, Frances Willard, Clara Barton, Willa Cather, and others in their well-organized and productive lives show no discontented traces of whatever girlish dreams they may have had for home and husband. Not every girl can be a Jane Addams or a Clara Barton. But every girl can find for herself some dominant interest over and above the normal one in acquiring a husband.

Moreover, an increasing number of young women find that marriage, even with children, does not absorb all their time, interest, and energy, so that they need a double goal of family plus outside-of-family interest. This last group has been the subject of numerous magazine articles and books. There are those who demand that the married woman shall give all of her time to her family, stating that the family will disintegrate if the wife attempts to maintain an interest outside her home, that the children will be neglected. On the other hand, the little group of women who manage a home and at the same time follow a vocation states equally emphatically that there need be no neglect of home or children, in the city at least, where apartments, electrical household devices, nursery schools, and maid service are

available. The problem is an individual one and as yet each case must be solved on its own merits. It does not concern us here, except in so far as it affects the interests which the girl builds up before marriage. Her life will be better organized if she has some dominant goal or interest. She will avoid at the time of marriage a critical period of transition if this goal is one which can be continued after marriage.

Nevertheless, even with the possibility of no marriage, or of the need for some additional absorbing activity after marriage, few young girls plan for a double career of marriage plus other activities. The replies to the question, already referred to, "What would you like to be doing when you are thirty-five years old?" are illustrative. Only an occasional girl indicated that she wished to have any other interests than a home, husband, and children. A few girls stated they would like to do some social service work in addition to being married. This absorption in home is in harmony with American traditions, and to criticize it is not the purpose of this discussion. Nevertheless, several points call for consideration. Rearing a family is often no longer sufficient for a full life-career except in the rural sections where a multitude of activities still center in the home. The town or city woman with several children and a minimum of housework is not necessarily living to full capacity when she confines her activities to her home. Moreover, the small present-day family of two to four children is reared by the time the mother is forty. The woman of an earlier generation who gave birth to six or eight children gave not only her youth but her middle age to the care of children.

This freedom from child-care which the girls of to-day will no doubt have during their thirties and forties carries with it serious responsibilities, some of which are better faced by the girl when she is in her teens rather than when she reaches forty.³

Many girls to-day regret the tendency of their parents to refuse them the independence they crave, to bind them into the family not with commands and sternness but with a consuming and dominating love which permits the daughter no opportunity to become an adult. Often this blind effort on the part of the parents to keep their daughters too long in the status of children is the result of the fear the parents feel as they face the empty years with children grown up and no deep interest to fill the gap. Girls of to-day can guard against this situation by maintaining some hobby, interest, or activity from youth on.

A part of the problem lies in the fact that the occupations which girls enter are more or less of a routine nature with little direct interest for the girls. The beginning years of a stenographer, a filing clerk, or a school-teacher are not filled with thrilling experiences. The girl has chosen her occupation because it was something for which she could secure training, because she needed the money, because her friends were entering that occupation. In time, the girl may develop a genuine interest in her work, over and above her interest in her pay check. However, in most cases the imagination of the young girl, when it is concerned with what she would like to be doing, does not center around her job. A girl in the early twenties who, for periods of about a year each, has

³ See the letter from a middle-aged woman, quoted on pp. 42-43.

successively held positions as clerical worker, switchboard operator, junior editor and typist, feels that she is "not getting anywhere" with her work. When she was in high school she wanted to be a gym teacher; now she would like to be a personnel worker or an advertisement writer. Another girl, who has held several stenographic positions, was keenly interested in music and spent a considerable portion of her salary for vocal lessons. When she moved to another city she allowed this interest to drop completely. She is now interested in writing and is taking a course in journalism at the Y. W. C. A.

Thus it seems that the occupations which most young girls enter do not offer interests which the girls care to continue after marriage. When they think of occupations in which they would like to continue to be active, they think rather vaguely of music, art, writing, or some other profession requiring training which they do not possess nor secure. Only occasionally does the girl do more than dally with evening-school classes. It is the exceptional girl who holds herself to the rigor of serious study which will give her either vocational advancement or training in some nonvocational interest. The artistic ability which many girls have in small degree and which might form the basis for a hobby is rarely developed at all. Most young girls thus have no abiding interest, similar to a young man's interest in a vocation which he expects to make a lifelong affair. Expecting to marry, they can see no reason for long years of vocational training; marriage, when it comes, seems to offer sufficient outlet for their energies, at least at first, and the development of genuine personal hobbies or interests rarely gets beyond the daydreaming stage.

PROBLEMS OF THE JOB

It is an accepted custom now that, except for the daughters of the wealthy and for the girls who marry very young, at least the first few years after school or college shall be spent in wage-earning. This period of working may mean for the girl a necessity forced upon her by lack of money, a pleasant pastime, the means for gaining a career, the best way in which to find a husband, or any one of several other things. It may have nothing whatever to do with her hobbies, her abiding interests, her central ambitions, as discussed in the preceding section. This is perhaps unfortunate but it is almost inevitable. The girl begins work before her interests are well formed or her talents trained. She quite naturally becomes one of the routine shop or office workers for which there seems endless demand. These few years of work are not, however, insignificant. For the period that she works she is spending on week days approximately one half of her waking hours at work. Her ideals and ambitions are affected by the demands and associations of her job; her friends are largely made among those with whom she works. Often she moves away from her family in order to secure better work and hence must make a complete readjustment of social relationship. The first few years of work are particularly critical, for they often determine the whole vocational future of the girl and affect materially her interests and moral standards. Work becomes both a temporary activity and a permanent influence.

Most important of all the problems the girl meets upon beginning work, both from the point of view of her

personality and from the point of view of the emotional disturbance it causes her, is the new set of codes, the new rôles, offered to her. Often she is beset by confusion in her attempt to select the rôle she will play in business and in her leisure time. The following statement, written by an intelligent girl of eighteen, one year out of high school and employed as a stenographer in a city office, is typical. Four problems confront her—the need for a girl friend, smoking, "petting" and how to dress well on a small salary.

Shortly after I began working, a problem confronted me. My girl friend, Agnes, met a young man who did not like me. Why? I do not know, and neither does she. She gave me up for him. From that time to this I have not found a girl friend. Of course, I have loads of friends, through clubs, working contacts and so on, but each girl seems to have her own special girl friend. So my problem is to find my girl friend.

Living in the generation I do, I have had a lot of moral combats. At home I was taught to look upon a woman who smokes as terrible. And when I went out and saw women smoking, I thought it was terrible. Then one day came the struggle. Practically every girl who goes out smokes, all my crowd does; is it as bad as I think? I argued with myself. I tried it and found no serious faults with it. I got no actual enjoyment out of it, except that I was being modern and doing what everybody else was doing.

Petting was another problem. I found that if I didn't pet, I didn't date unless it was with some person so terribly boresome that he talked about the weather all night. But I also found that a definition must be put on petting to distinguish it from mauling. Then I got to thinking, after I had met *the man*, about what he would think if he knew of the number of men I had been out

with and had petted with. But I found that he too expects a good-night kiss as payment for the evening's pleasure. I have decided, since one has to pet for their good times, that I will not go out with the great number of men I used to go with. So now I see but three of them, and the only petting necessary is a good-night kiss. So, what's to happen? If you don't pet, you don't have a good time; that is, you don't go out. I hope the problem will be solved soon, because I'm sick of either going out and arguing with a man all night about petting, or sitting home looking at four walls while everybody else is having a good time.

A thing that I find very difficult—and I am sure many girls will agree—is to keep dressed with a small salary. It would be all right if one could wear inexpensive clothes. But nowadays, the girls are well dressed in offices. After I pay my board, put a little bit—a very little bit—in the bank, put aside some money for carfare, lunch and club dues, there is very little left for clothes, and I am making what is considered a very good salary for a stenographer. I can keep dressed on what I budget for clothing, but I can't keep the pace with the rest of the girls.

The second case is that of Daisy, a girl of nineteen, with an unusually high intelligence test score. She graduated from high school and secured a position as a billing machine operator. She has several older sisters who were "wild" and who had been in many escapades. While she was still in high school, she writes, "Several times when my older sisters went out they had extra fellows and I went along as second fiddle. I learned many things doing this which I wish I had waited to learn further along when I was older."

Her father had not worked for a number of years. He lives at home, but neither Daisy nor her mother are on

friendly terms with him. The mother worked hard for many years to support her children. Daisy, since she began to work, has given all of her salary to her mother. "I am trying to repay my mother for all she did for me."

Since Daisy began to work she has gone out with several men whom she met at work, through friends, and at the dances given by an organization for girls. Certain of these men took her to a cabaret, where she became partially drunk on several occasions. "My mother does not know of all my doings, but rather than let her know I would kill myself, as it would just about kill her if she found all this out."

Finally, Daisy came to be on terms of closest friendship with a man who worked in the same organization where she was employed. This man, who was ten years her senior, induced her to break off her friendship with the girls who had been in the drinking parties and helped her to organize her life along other lines.

Mild prevarications and deceits are common. Mildred registered at an employment bureau for a position and was sent to a company which had requested a clerk. She was told when she applied that they could not place her, but later in the week this company called and offered her a position. The employment bureau was not informed that she had, after a delay, secured the position. Mildred herself did not report the fact to them and consequently never paid the fee due them. In another instance, a girl with grade-school education applied for a new position. She told her prospective employer that she was a high-school graduate. She secured the position and is able to handle the work successfully, which seems to her to justify her deceit. She believes she would not

have secured the position if she had told the truth about her education.

Prevarications regarding education, experience, age, previous salaries, reasons for leaving positions are apparently more or less common. Girls with otherwise high standards state without hesitation or embarrassment that they have made such prevarications.

Many of these problems are not concerned primarily with the position the girl holds, but grow out of the new contacts which are incidental to employment. Previously the girl's friendships have been drawn quite largely from her school group—young people of her own age, or her own general background, with her own degree of sophistication. When she begins to work she is thrown with people of many different types, and previously unknown kinds of amusement are offered to her. Under these circumstances, some girls withdraw and refuse to meet the new situation.

An eighteen-year-old girl with two years of high school has been working as a stenographer for two years. She earns \$24 a week and lives at home. She is rather unaggressive in manner. She stopped going to high school because she had been ill for a semester and when she returned to school she did not know the pupils in her classes. She now has no close girl friends, as she has lost her contacts with old school friends. She belongs to one Y. W. C. A. club but does not see the girls except at club meetings. She goes steadily with one man, who usually takes her to the movies. She likes to dance but the man does not dance. She attends Sunday school, where she is in a class of younger girls, as there are no girls of her own age in the Sunday school, but she does

not attend church socials. She has made no friends at the office where she works. She spends most of her time at home, where she enjoys helping with the housework.

Other girls throw themselves without reservation into all the new activities. The case of Daisy, quoted in this section, is typical of this type of girl. She follows the immediate impulse, although later she may regret what she has done.

Both types of reaction indicate personality deficiencies which handicap the girl. The timid, unaggressive girl soon finds herself isolated and, lacking stimulating contacts, remains a child indefinitely. The girl who is drawn into all types of exciting adventures, even against her better judgment, lacks a certain desirable integration of character. The girl who, as she grows older, feels that she must not do any of the things forbidden her as a child, needlessly limits her contacts and her enjoyment of life. The girl who dissipates her energies in immediate pleasures without regard for future results is hindering the development of a stable character. Restraint, judgment, but a willingness to widen contacts and experiences are qualities to be encouraged.

CHARACTER AND SUCCESS IN WORK

A few attempts have been made to study the relationship between personality traits and success in work.

From the employer's point of view, the personality and character of the girl are important. W. W. Charters and I. B. Whitley, in making a study of the traits of successful secretaries, interviewed employers to discover what the employer considered the necessary traits of successful secretaries. Forty-five different traits were

listed by the employers, the ten most frequently given being accuracy, responsibility, dependability, intelligence, courtesy, initiative, judgment, tact, personal pleasantness, and personal appearance.⁴

Another study of reasons why people were discharged from industrial positions brings out this same fact—the importance of a stable, well-integrated personality. This study of 4,375 persons discharged is not confined to any particular age group or to either sex. It was discovered that 34.2 per cent were discharged because of lack of skill or technical knowledge, and 3.4 per cent for miscellaneous reasons, while 62.4 per cent (almost two thirds of all persons) were discharged because of personality traits which interfered with their success at work. Of these traits, the most common were insubordination, which covered 11.1 per cent of the cases; general unreliability, 10.4 per cent; absenteeism, 10.1 per cent; and laziness, 7.2 per cent.⁵

The following reasons given by young office workers as to why they were discharged indicate the way in which the well-trained girl may fail to be successful because of some personality trait.

A stenographer secured a position on trial in a doctor's office. She thought the work uninteresting and instead of applying herself to it, spent most of her time helping another doctor in the same suite. She was discharged.

A stenographer sympathized with a girl who was dis-

⁴ W. W. Charters and I. B. Whitley, *Analysis of Secretarial Duties and Traits*, pp. 174-75.

⁵ John M. Brewer, "Religion and Vocational Success," *Religious Education*, XXV (January, 1930), p. 39.

charged and was also discharged for "lack of interest in her work."

Nervousness, jealousy, tendency to take credit for work done by others, gossiping, dishonesty, quarreling, carelessness in dress and lack of cleanliness have made difficulties for other girls.

Choice of a vocation and the training for it, which are not discussed here because of the many special books on the subject, are only the first steps in vocational success. It is necessary that the girl should be able to adjust herself to the wider contacts and more stimulating life, to rearrange and develop her leisure time in such a way that it does not dissipate her energy, and to exhibit in her contacts at work the qualities which make her agreeable and efficient.

As with most other problems of young adulthood, some of the deficiencies can be traced to earlier defective training. The girl who has never been accustomed to routine or who has always held the center of the stage will not immediately find it easy to fit into the usual routine of the beginner's job. It is only by long and painful experience that many girls become successful workers. It might almost be said that the usual experience is for the girl to pass from one job to another in rapid succession until her schoolgirl personality has been revamped into a business-girl personality.

NEED FOR ORGANIZED AGENCIES

There are few agencies which keep a close contact with the girl during these years in the late teens or early twenties when this tremendous shift is made from the protection and supervision of school and home to the

freedom of the job. Public schools with vocational bureaus often are not equipped to do more than place the girl in her first job. Occasionally the public school may offer opportunity for further study in evening schools, but rarely does it supervise social and recreational contacts. The Y. W. C. A. and various local associations and clubs provide needed contacts for a certain number of girls. These organizations do a particularly efficient service when they are well guided and when they fit their programs to the actual needs of the girls served. The organization which imposes a program from above, without reference to the ambitions and needs of the girls, has a limited value.

Churches are somewhat more apt to have a formal program than organizations for girls are, for the church serves many groups and hence has a tendency to use a generalized program attempting to cover all groups at once; also, it often does not have adult leaders especially trained in the needs of the different age groups. Because the early years of work are important in the growth of personality, because they are the point where old attitudes are often found wanting and new ones must be built up, the church has a definite function to perform, which might well take the following forms:

1. Clubs and classes for young people, where young men and women might meet as naturally as they meet in business and public recreation centers, for play and for discussion.
2. Clubs and classes of girls alone, for the study of problems peculiar to young women in business or in school.
3. Leaders with definite information on vocational

problems and with contacts with employment bureaus and other agencies. Unless the church has a definite social service department, it scarcely seems within the province of the church to secure employment for young people. But more than the mere securing of a job, young people need advice and counsel concerning the choice of vocations, the training needed, the problems which will be met, and continuously they need a wise and sympathetic counselor for the problems which arise after work is secured. For these intangible but important matters, the commercial employment bureau cannot serve adequately. At present such service is very inadequately given by existing organizations.

The adult club leader or teacher who approaches these problems with ready-made moral codes and hard-and-fast rules of conduct will not be successful in helping the girls. Although the girl is still in her teens she has a certain independence and self-confidence born of her ability to earn a salary; moreover, she is observant and she knows from her own experience that smoking, late hours, even attending somewhat questionable places of amusement, are not necessarily followed by misfortune for the girl who does these things. The adult must lay aside moral platitudes, must begin with the girls' own experiences and observations, and assist the girls to build up for themselves a new code which, because they have built it themselves, has some chance to become effective.

THOUGHT PROVOKERS

1. What outside interests are compatible with the tasks of a mother with several small children and only a moderate income? With the duties of a woman of

forty whose children have finished school? Are these interests ones which would appeal to the girl in her teens? Which ones might be commenced by the girl of college age?

2. What practical course might the girl follow who is asked as part of her job to do something she believes wrong, such as lie about some business matter?
3. What practical plan can you devise for helping girls understand and adjust their business problems?
4. How can the city church find and serve the detached girl who moves into the city to work?

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CHAPTER V

FRIENDSHIPS

EARLY INTEREST IN BOYS

IN the past the assumption has been made that marriage in itself constituted adequate adjustment of personal relations between men and women. The rapidly increasing divorce rate and the case studies published by sociologists and psychiatrists are ample proof that marriage does not automatically create an amicable and lasting relationship between a man and a woman. Marriage is really a test of the ability of two people to live in close social relationship with each other, and a test of their emotional readjustment to each other. While the personal affection and the congeniality of the two are important, much of what makes marriage a success or a failure has little to do with the immediate relationship but is the result of the attitudes and habits built up throughout childhood and adolescence. The foundation of a happy marriage is laid quite largely during the childhood of the individual.

As was shown in the chapter on "Goals," marriage is the expectation of most young girls. They want to be married. Marriage normally occurs during the period of youth. Hence problems concerning the choice of a husband and problems concerning adolescent habits which may be detrimental to a happy marriage are important.

The most obvious problem concerning the adjustment

of girls to the other sex is the precocious interest in boys which some girls exhibit. Girls who are "boy crazy" are a distinct source of worry to their parents and teachers, and girls who are sexually delinquent are a major problem to juvenile courts and social workers. Girls with an early maturity of sexual interests and without proper guidance may easily come to grief during adolescence. A summary of twelve studies of unmarried mothers, made by Doctor Fursey, shows that 4 per cent of the mothers were under sixteen years of age, 13.0 per cent between sixteen and eighteen, and 30.5 per cent between eighteen and twenty-one years of age.¹

Other studies make it clear that adults who refuse to recognize the importance of boy-girl relationships during the teens, and even at an earlier age, are merely thrusting their heads into the sands of their own ignorance or indifference. Doctor Hamilton in his study of marriage asked this question, "At what age did you cease to be satisfied with friendships with persons of your own sex and begin to long for friendships with persons of the opposite sex with whom you could go about and do the things that boys and girls do together?" One hundred women answered this question. Thirty stated they had always had boy friends, nine of them wanted friends among boys before the age of twelve, while forty first felt this need between the ages of twelve and seventeen.²

Curiosity about sex came at an even earlier age. Of this same group of one hundred women, twenty were curious about sex matters when they were less than six years old, forty-one between the ages of six and eleven,

¹ Paul H. Fursey, *Social Problems of Childhood*, p. 137.

² G. V. Hamilton, *Research in Marriage*, p. 487.

nineteen between the ages of twelve and fifteen, three between the ages of sixteen and twenty, while six stated they had had no curiosity. Nine could not recall their first curiosity. One was always curious and one stated that curiosity came early. With reference to actual love affairs, there is ample evidence that before marriage occurs many girls tend to have a number of love affairs. The 100 married women in Hamilton's study had had a total of 415 love affairs before they were twenty years old, an average of four each. Of these 415 love affairs, 68 occurred when the women were children between six and eleven years of age, 115 occurred between the ages of twelve and fifteen, 94 between the ages of sixteen and seventeen, and 138 between the ages of eighteen and twenty.³

It is easy to dismiss the problem by the mistaken belief that the girls who become sexual delinquents are in some way abnormal. Doctor Hamilton's data were secured, however, not from delinquents but from married women in the upper middle classes, some with high status in the communities where they lived. It seems evident that it must be accepted that for many girls a definite interest in boys as friends develops at an early age, and that, if this interest is unguided, it may lead to the entrance of the girl upon unconventional ways of living which are almost sure to lead her into situations which will endanger her health and well-being.

We are not concerned here with delinquent girls: their problem is a special one. But the proper organization of an interest in boys is a suitable topic for discussion in connection with the developing personality of later

³ Hamilton, *ibid.*, pp. 210-11, 271.

adolescence, even though the beginnings of the interest lie perhaps five to ten years earlier. The excerpt which follows illustrates the quick succession of interests in one boy after another which may characterize a girl's development:

When I entered high school it took only a short time for our old crowd, which had gone through grade school together, to unite again. One of the boys didn't seem to care for me, and for that reason I decided that he should. Of course we were not allowed to go to school parties, but I was determined that he should notice me in classes and in the corridors. As soon as I obtained the desired attention, I decided that I wanted to go with someone else. . . . My sophomore year began by a little political scheme to have one of the boys in our crowd elected class president. When this was accomplished, we were all satisfied and started out with the intention of running the school. I very seldom dislike anyone, but there was one boy whom I could not endure. He had a splendid mind and was well liked by some groups, but he refused to follow our plans. When football started, I naturally became interested in the heroes. One red-headed boy, whom I had known all my life, was the star quarterback. We began going to school parties together. Both of us were exceedingly indifferent and independent; nevertheless, whenever he asked me to a party my heart made a little leap. In the spring our crowd, eight boys and eight girls, started going on picnics and having parties at the club. We were always properly chaperoned. The next year I was still going with the same boy. We were gradually drifting apart, since everyone was linking our two names together. Because of a few underhanded tricks I learned never to trust a man. . . . At last I had become a senior. We had switched from playing around with one boy to hanging onto as many as possible. We still had many picnics and parties. It was now that we

began to feel grown up and to have formal parties with each girl rivaling the others in the attempt to have the prettiest dress.

CONTROLLING THE GIRL'S INTEREST IN BOYS

The need for the girl's interest in boys to be recognized and provided for is all the more acute since early marriages are regarded as undesirable. Rarely do adults in a community approve of a marriage which occurs before a girl is almost out of the teens.⁴ The prolonged period of schooling and the difficulty on the part of the adolescent boy of earning sufficient money to support a wife are both factors in the postponement of marriage. Girls become physically mature in the mid-teens and may often develop even before that time a genuine interest in boys; they are kept in a state of economic and social immaturity, however, for some six to eight years after the period of physical maturity. A part of the policy of control advocated by some adults is a definite one of repression of all interest in boys. Since interest in the opposite sex is only in part an instinctive one and to some degree at least awaits social stimulation for its appearance, an early policy of repression may result in control of the interest, although frequently with undesirable results.

If the interest in boys is repressed or crushed down after it has become active, the result usually is conflict and accentuated growth of the repressed interest. Many elopements of young people in the teens are the direct

⁴ For a discussion of child marriages, see Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall, *Child Marriages*, Russell Sage Foundation; *A Study of Child and Youthful Marriages in New York County*, Woman's City Club of New York, 22 Park Avenue, New York City.

result of parental repression. More subtle is the process of training which, from a period before the girl is conscious of an interest in boys, instills into her attitudes which make it difficult for her to break through her timidity or her indifference and attain a friendly relationship with boys. The mother who teaches her young daughter that boys are less refined than girls, that they are perhaps even to be feared, that sex, even marriage, is "not nice," may build into her daughter attitudes which later make it exceedingly difficult for her daughter to meet men on equal terms.

Or, instead of building up adverse attitudes, parents may seek to organize the girl's interest exclusively in terms of other girls. The girl who is sent to a girls' boarding school during the winter, a girls' camp during the summer, who belongs only to girls' clubs and organizations may find her time so engaged, her wishes so defined that association with girls seems to give her a completely happy life. Independence and a career may become all-important and marriage may seem in the nature of a sacrifice or to be a type of living not quite so high-minded as devotion to a career.

A limited number of unmarried women make significant contributions to the world's knowledge and welfare. But there are many more who lead lonely and incomplete lives. The girls who hem themselves in exclusively with girls, who either desire no contacts with men or for some reason fail to find contacts, should be of as much concern to adults as the girls who are too actively interested in men. They rarely are regarded by adults as in need of help. Quite often they are commended for their "good sense" in not marrying, especially when they have

salaried positions and a degree of economic independence which the mother perhaps envies. It is from this group that the devoted daughters come, and some parents, quite unconscious of their selfishness, encourage spinsterhood in one daughter at least because they find a certain comfort in having an unmarried daughter at home. Marriage is regarded by psychologists as the most normal and complete mode of life. Girls who have few men friends should be encouraged to make friends with the idea of eventually marrying.⁵

OPPORTUNITIES NEEDED TO MEET MEN

While some few girls are never at a loss for men friends, many attractive girls who wish to have men friends seem without opportunity to meet them.

In the small city or town where "everybody knows everybody else" the girl grows up in a circle of friends known to her parents and usually continues to hold her place in this circle even after graduation from the public schools. She is more or less born into a social group to which her parents belong and her friends are automatically provided for her. In the larger city there is a distinct problem in finding the opportunity to meet prospective friends. Many girls from smaller places come to the large city to work and perhaps know not a single person there. In living arrangements three courses lie open to them: they may enter one of the girls' club-houses or residences found in most cities, such as a Y. W.

⁵ Eleanor Rowland Wembridge has an amusing but pointed article in the *Survey Graphic* for January, 1932, entitled "Why Jennie Gets Her Man," in which Jennie, who is an adept in getting her man, is contrasted with Jean, who dreams of her Lohengrin but does not know how to meet him.

C. A. residence, they may rent a room in a private family and secure a pseudo-home life; or they may live in a room in a large rooming house where contacts are very impersonal and the landlady assumes no responsibility for the social contacts of her roomers. Although the girls who live in residences run by organized agencies meet other girls and have parties planned for them, they are faced with the same problem which other girls have of meeting men friends. The girls in large rooming houses have the most serious handicap, in that they often may have few contacts with either girls or men.

Even the girls whose homes are in cities may have much the same problem. So long as the girl is in high school she has ready access to a group of friends. When she leaves school, her contacts very often drop away. If she goes to work, her job may take her into a section of the city removed from any of her friends. The girl's family is often helpless to provide social contacts for her. The urban family is apt to be an isolated unit, and the parents may be as limited in social contacts as their children are.

Many girls accept the urban situation and do not depend upon social agencies or their families to introduce them formally to young men. They make contacts with men when and however they can. The following incidents illustrate the ways in which girls employed in offices met men. The cases which are starred are girls who live at home.

A flirted with a man on the bathing beach. This man became "fresh," and she has never again tried flirting with strange men.

B went with a man from the office and later discovered

he was married. She now does not seek friendships with business acquaintances.

C met a college man who lived in the same apartment house. The man and his friends sought acquaintance with C and her friends (the men and the girls had apartments in the same building). From the group thus formed C and one man paired off, and later became engaged.

*D met the cousin of the boy who went with her girl friend. They went together for a time but finally stopped because the boy had to work in the evening. She was very much disappointed and for a time had no boy friend. At a Y. M. C. A. dance she found herself left out of the dances and in desperation winked at a boy, who then danced with her. This boy said he had been too shy to ask a girl to dance until he received her encouraging wink. They discovered a mutual interest in music, the boy was introduced to her family, met the family approval, and a good friendship developed.

*E has contacts with a group of young people from a church club. She regards the boys of her own age as "silly" and would like a man a little older. She goes occasionally with an older man from the office who takes her to dinner and theaters. She is not in love with him and would like a boy friend but does not know how to meet one.

*In five months' time, G went with ten or twelve men from the place where she works. One man in the late twenties appealed to her and she would have married him but her mother objected. He left town and she is now not interested in men, but would like to meet a man who lives near and who resembles the one in whom she was interested.

*J went with a neighbor boy for three years. She thought him silly and was embarrassed at parties because he drank too much and went out on the floor alone to dance. While skating at the park she and her sister

met a young man who helped them when they fell down. He walked home with them and asked for her phone number, which she gave him. (She thought she would "take a chance and give it to him.") She went with him for a while but thought him silly. Then at a public dance hall she met another young man who danced with her and asked for her phone number. They have been going together steadily and expect to be married.

*P met a fellow at church and went with him steadily for a year; they went to all the church affairs together. She started a conversation in the yard with the nephew of a neighbor. They went together for eighteen months and were engaged, then broke up. Through a motor coach conductor whom she knew she met other men employed on the coaches; with one she went for a year and with another for a year and a half. She danced with one man a number of times at a public dance hall, who after walking home with her several times asked for a date. She met a fellow through a girl friend's boy friend and has had several dates.⁶

It is noticeable in these excerpts that each girl requires many contacts before one man is found who is really congenial. This is inevitable when friendships begin with casual acquaintanceship and the young people do not learn until later whether they share the same interests, religion, and philosophy of life, whether they expect the same things from friendship and marriage.

ACTIVE AMUSEMENTS

Concern is often felt regarding the types of amusements which modern young people enjoy.

The home of a generation ago was roomy and allowed

⁶Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Business Girls, A Study of Their Interests and Problems*, pp. 45-46.

for the entertainment of guests with a certain degree of privacy. The smaller houses of to-day, and especially the compact city apartments, make it very difficult for any one member of the family to entertain guests without interfering with the activities of other members of the family. This and the natural desire of young people for a certain freedom from adult supervision have led to entertainment outside the home. Automobile riding and parking and attending movies are among the favorites. These are passive amusements and ones in which the two young people may find themselves wholly absorbed in their own and each other's emotional responses—for the movies are no longer merely places for seeing pictures, but also places where the semidarkness, the anonymity of the crowd, and the emotional scenes of the film permit and encourage minor forms of love-making. These passive amusements hasten the emotional attachment of the young people toward a climax, which logically should lead to an engagement and marriage. Too often, however, they are indulged in by adolescents who are not economically in a position to marry and who, in fact, are not as yet seriously interested in marrying.

The situation is accentuated by the prevailing acceptance of a mild form of love-making among young people. The attitudes of a Y. W. C. A. class of eighteen- and nineteen-year-old girls is expressed in their statements, made anonymously in writing:

1. Petting, which I would describe as kissing, that being the limit of my experience, depends on the circumstances and the individuals. If a couple go together for quite a while and they think a good deal of each other, it is only natural. This business, however,

of kissing every Tom, Dick, and Harry is absolutely out. No girl with any self-respect or high ideals will do it. Again, one has to know the man. I absolutely do not believe that petting should be construed to mean or be carried any further than kissing.

2. In this day and age I believe that really one cannot get along without petting to a certain extent. I like to be loved, I like to be kissed. I do believe, however, in putting a limit on petting. I stop at a kiss. And then I don't kiss everyone. Petting is all right if both parties concerned have self-control and if it can be stopped at a point before intimacies begin. I'm perfectly willing to kiss a man "good night" if he has shown me a good time and I like him. I don't go out with anyone I don't like. To be frank, I feel rather hurt if any one of the three men I go out with doesn't kiss me. I think his interest is waning.

3. I do not believe a girl should pet with every man she goes out with. That is, I don't believe a girl should kiss and neck with every man that takes her to a movie, dance, or party. But if he appeals to her, and she thinks she would like him to take her seriously and they have been going with each other a long time, then I think it all right.

4. I do not believe in petting, that is, with every fellow you go out with. But if you go out with only one man and really love him, then it is all right.

5. Love-making with a steady friend is all right. Sometimes I pet. The men never ask for other dates, so I do not know whether it is because I pet or don't pet.

6. You usually look upon the man you go with steadily as a prospective husband, and after you know him well you naturally expect to pet some. Then you are thrown with company that does it and you can't just sit around like a "touch-me-not."⁷

⁷ Ruth Shonle Cavan, *ibid.*, p. 47.

The same type of evidence comes from college girls. Thus one study of the relations of college girls to boys showed that out of a group of 177 girls, 92 per cent had petted.⁸

In situations which encourage emotional response, there is thus considerable likelihood that friendships with men will become emotional attachments regardless of the fundamental congeniality of the pair or of their desire to marry. Usually, the girl is not sufficiently experienced to foresee the processes involved and allows herself to be carried away by the emotional tension of the situation. The result is very apt to be continued emotional strain for the girl, with a succession of men friends.

The solution would seem to lie either in earlier marriages or in a substitution of a more active type of friendship which would not encourage intense emotional reactions. Since the whole tendency of prolonged education and vocational training is to postpone marriage, it would require almost an upheaval of the present economic order to achieve earlier marriages. There is no obstacle to the second suggestion, a more active type of friendship, except the lethargy of social institutions in failing to take any steps toward providing for it.

THE PLACE OF THE SOCIAL AGENCY

It is useless to say that the urban family should be the agency to provide girls with men friends or to supervise closely the amusements of young people. Urban parents are usually quite helpless in the matter, due to their own isolation from close friendly contacts and the

⁸ G. F. Smith, "Certain Aspects of the Sex Life of the Adolescent Girl," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1924, pp. 347-50.

multitude of commercial amusements which draw the young people away from the home and which have, indeed, arisen in part because the home is no longer able to provide adequate recreation.

Plainly, in the urban situation at least help must come from organized agencies and institutions. At present the most active agencies in bringing young people together are recreational ones of a public or commercial character —public and private bathing beaches, organized park activities, skating rinks, carnivals, and, above all, commercial dance halls. Some of these organizations have rather careful supervision; others, little or none. Girls may easily meet men in these places without formal introduction. Many of these casually acquired friendships work out well, but there are many others which do not. Also many girls do not care to acquire their friends in this fashion.

Most social institutions, such as the church, the Y. W. C. A., the Y. M. C. A., and local clubs, which have the welfare of young people at heart, rather than purely an economic motive, consistently refuse to see that the mixed group of men and girls is the natural group for later adolescence. They tend to proceed on the theory that girls and young men should be protected from each other, and there is all too often apt to be an underlying note of disapproval of mixed groups. In some cases, so firmly has the institution established itself in the public mind as a one-sex institution, that even when mixed activities are initiated the newly invited group is wary of accepting the invitation for fear too close supervision will prevent an enjoyable time. Thus, in many cities it is very difficult for a Y. W. C. A. to

initiate mixed activities, because the Y. W. C. A. has the reputation of being exclusively for women and young men cannot imagine having a good time with the girls who attend it. Even many colleges, which presumably attempt to provide for the social needs of students, build separate clubhouses for men and women, but provide no joint meeting place.

It is high time that an entirely new type of institution arose—one for both men and women. Men and women have lived together successfully in institutions not primarily intended for the purpose of bringing them together—in settlement houses, for instance. Residence clubhouses for young employed people could be constructed to provide sleeping rooms both for men and for girls, with living rooms, dining room, and recreation rooms in common. This would give in institutionalized form something approaching the old-fashioned boarding house with its common meeting ground of dining table and parlor.

Until existing institutions or new institutions provide for contacts between girls and young men and initiate enjoyable activities for them, it must be expected that the more aggressive girls will meet young men whenever and however they can, and that commercial recreational institutions will be more influential in shaping these friendships than social agencies will be.

FRIENDSHIPS WITH GIRLS

Although the making of friends with girls is not usually thought of as a problem, it is one for many urban girls. The excerpts which follow are taken from the statements of young business girls:

S, in the two months that she has been in Chicago, has not found a chum. At her place of work the girls are in cliques and she never sees any of them outside of working hours. She has joined a Y. W. C. A. club but does not see these girls at other times than when the club meets. She has also sought friends by moving to a clubhouse. Here her roommate, whom she did not previously know, is engaged and has little time for girl friends. (This girl is reserved and apparently not aggressive in making contacts, although she has allied herself with organizations where she meets people. She is attractive, has had two years of college work, has traveled, and receives more than the average salary. Her lack of friends makes her feel unsettled.)

Y has few girl friends of her own age. She came to the city several years ago with her family and holds a very good office position. She chums with her younger sister and belongs to a church bridge club, which is arbitrarily made up of all girls living in a certain area. No friendships have developed from this club. At the office the girls were already formed into groups when she met them, and many of them live in other parts of the city. She also discovered, when different girls invited her to their homes, that their homes were better furnished than her home was; consequently, she has discouraged friends whom she would have to invite to her home, because her family does not have Oriental rugs or a grand piano. In the town from which she came her home was as well furnished as the homes of her friends and she feels keenly the present difference between her home and the homes of other girls.

T is twenty-six years old. Most of her old friends in the suburb where her parents live are married and have formed their own group, and she feels that the younger unmarried girls do not care to have her with them. At present she is rooming in the city, where she works, but the two other girls at her rooming house are engaged

and she has little companionship from them. She believes that loneliness is one of the greatest problems of the business girl.

W is very conscious of her immigrant background and does not feel confident about the use of English words. She finds the girls where she works uncongenial. At the girls' club where she lives she is too shy to make friendly approaches to the other girls, fearing that they will think her forward.⁹

These excerpts illustrate several of the reasons why girls may find it difficult to make friends with other girls. The girls who enter the business world of a large and sophisticated city from either an immigrant or a rural background may feel decidedly ill at ease in the presence of girls with wider experience. They may not know how to dress in the prevailing styles, probably do not know the latest catch-words, they have not seen the motion pictures or plays shown in the city, nor frequented urban places of amusement. They may believe some of the amusements of the city-bred girls are wrong. Not only do they feel out of place, but they may feel inferior and at the same time resentful. The city-bred girl or the girl who has become urbanized is indifferent to the less sophisticated girl, or may even be openly amused by her. In time the less sophisticated girl gains experience and finds a place for herself in the urban social group. But the period of adjustment may be difficult for her.

The girl who has always lived in the city often finds herself detached from her childhood circle of friends when she begins to work. Or she finds that her experiences in factory, store, or office are different from the

⁹ Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Business Girls, A Study of Their Interests and Problems*, pp. 40-41.

experiences of her friends, and gradually she and her former friends find themselves less congenial and drift apart.

A limited number of girls have physical or personality traits which make them disagreeable to other girls. A physical defect, such as an obvious birthmark, may act as a deterrent to the development of friendships. Moodiness or bossiness, the habit of lying, of not keeping confidences, or of malicious gossip, all tend to shut the girl out of friendship circles.

Alice taught one year, then attended business college and began work as a stenographer and bookkeeper. She has one chum and belongs to a club at the Y. W. C. A., but does not have a circle of girl friends. She is described as "lovely in appearance, well-dressed, and with good poise. She is not at all popular with the other girls; in fact, she quite generally antagonizes them. She is very aggressive and self-confident, and recognizes no limitation of her own ability. She insists on taking the lead and on issuing orders. She is talented in many ways, can play, sing, read, draw and write, all well enough to make her very useful in group work. She undertook to direct a musical comedy which the business girls' club was putting on, but had mutiny on her hands within a week, because of her manner with the other girls." Her employer and the Y. W. C. A. secretary, both of whom have noticed her failure to "get along" with the girls she is associated with, have talked with her about her approach to other girls, but she will not admit that she is in the wrong. Her interpretation of the situation is that the other girls are jealous.

The immigrant girl's difficulties are further described in the following account. This girl later entered college in the city in which her first difficulties occurred, made

an excellent scholastic record, and entered informal and organized social groups on the same basis as other students. Her difficulties were confined mainly to the period during which she was learning to speak English.

I was born in Sweden, and when I was twelve years old we moved to America. In the fall I started to school and to my dismay they put me in the first grade. Of course I could neither speak nor understand a single word of English, but I considered it an insult to my intelligence to sit and play with colored pegs and to put paper houses on a sand table. I, who could recite Luther's catechism from cover to cover and who could repeat the names and dates of all the Scandinavian kings with their battles and conquests thrown in!

My first year in the American public school was a miserable one. As I was twelve years old and tall for my age I scarcely fitted behind the tiny desks intended for five- and six-year-olds. During recess and after school I was followed by a group of first and second graders who walked behind me and called out, "First-grade big baby," and "Greenhorn." At first my ignorance of the language prevented me from understanding the terms they used, but their pointed fingers and their mocking voices could hardly be mistaken. I had no friends. The children all looked upon me as an intruder.

The girl who feels herself slightly better educated or of a higher social class than those about her is also in a difficult position.

After one year of college Mary took a business course and secured an office position. She was not very well qualified for the position she held and had difficulty with her work. She did not tell the other girls in the office that she was a "college girl" but they found it out and seemed to resent it. When she made a mistake, she

thought to herself, they must be thinking she ought not make mistakes because she was a college girl. She admitted that she felt better than they were—"I was better too, no matter what anyone may say." She did not eat lunch with them and did not like their friends. They talked about men, clothes, and their work, and she found their conversation disgusting.

It is very easy to see, even in so short an excerpt, how this girl's conception of herself as superior to her fellow-workers prevented any friendships from developing.

The home background is often an influence in determining whether the girl will be able to meet other girls and adjust herself to them. The girl who has been made to feel inferior at home to other members of the family, the girl who comes from a family which feels itself socially superior, and the adopted child are all apt to be handicapped when they find themselves in the wider social group of college, store, or office.

Emma, because of a large number of brothers and sisters, lived as a child with her grandmother. She returned home when she was ten years old, where she felt a stranger to her family. Her older sister "bossed her," opened her mail and "hated" her. When she was fourteen, her mother died and soon there was a stepmother. Her best friend left town and the situation became so tense that she left home when she was fifteen. She has not been able to adjust herself since she left home. Her girl friends have married or left town and she does not make new friends. She does not belong to any clubs or classes except at the Y. W. C. A., where she goes to swim. She has made no friends there. She lives in a boarding house filled with old people and has borrowed the landlady's dog to keep her company. She is shy, very unhappy, and is becoming more and more shut-in.

The girl who wrote the following statement was the daughter of a widow who found her resources too small for rearing her children and who permitted her daughter as a very small child to be adopted by a wealthy family with good social standing. The girl was never able to throw off her shyness and feeling of inferiority, and as a result impressed those who knew her as lacking in initiative and as being indifferent.

I stayed in this preparatory school for three years, but I was not very happy. Someone told the girls that I was adopted, and although it might have been my imagination, I felt I was never as good as the other girls and therefore made only a few good friends. I never tell anyone to this day that I am adopted because so many girls think that I am not fit to go around with. Naturally, when I was in such a state, I said little in class and never recited more than I could possibly help, because I thought that my ideas were not as good as the other students'.

THE "CRUSH"

The crush is a phenomenon which causes considerable worry to adults who have girls under their care.

The crush is a highly emotional attachment. It is a very seclusive relationship between two people of the same sex and all other people tend to be excluded from the friendship of the two who experience a crush. There is abnormal sensitivity to each other and anything which may be regarded as a slight is apt to be met with tears and exaggerated but very genuinely felt grief. The crush should not be confused with the friendship between chums. Girls who are chums and who have a lasting friendship for each other very often have a wider circle of other friends. They may expect more of each other than

of their other friends and may share confidences not given to others. But typically chums are not highly emotional in their attachment and do not refuse other friendships.

There are several current interpretations of why crushes occur; the lack of any intensive research on these relationships makes it very difficult to be conclusive about the matter. One interpretation is that girls or boys who feel this intense affection for one of their own sex are fundamentally abnormal in emotional or physical development. It is true that some few people are so constituted that they are never able to feel the normal attachment to one of the other sex which usually results in marriage, but can feel such an attachment for one of their own sex. But these people are very few in number, and obviously this explanation does not account for the crushes which flourish every year among adolescent girls who later have no interest in crushes but develop ordinary friendships with both boys and girls. A second explanation is that girls below the teens prefer only girls as companions and that boys prefer only boys. Normally during adolescence this childhood preference gives place to an interest in the opposite sex so that mixed groups of boys and girls are preferred. But some few girls do not develop as rapidly as others, or their development for some reason is arrested, so that they continue to prefer girls. The third explanation has it that crushes are most apt to develop among girls who have contacts only with other girls and whose contacts with young men are limited. Girls' dormitories, especially those in girls' schools or colleges, usually have a number of crushes during the year. It should not be overlooked that these girls are also cut off from family

contacts. It is probable that the last two explanations account for most of the crushes.

It is difficult to generalize about crushes because they represent different types of emotional response. The following cases represent different types which have come to the attention of the writers:

Elsie was small and somewhat childish in appearance and manner. During her first semester at college she was one of a group of girls who roomed on the same dormitory corridor. During her second semester she and an older freshman girl became very much attached to each other. They spent all of their time together, even sleeping in the same room, although they were not roommates. Elsie called the older girl "mother" and frequently cried when this girl was absent from the campus for a few hours. During the summer vacation the two girls did not see each other and in the fall the older girl married and did not return to college. Elsie went with several boys during her second year at college. She stopped attending college at the end of her second year, taught school for several years, and then married.

Anna was a very attractive freshman girl who attracted the attention of Miss W, a teacher who lived in the dormitory. Miss W became infatuated with Anna, who, quite naturally, responded, as Miss W was very popular with all the students. This friendship was very intense during Anna's first year and continued throughout her college course, although with diminished intensity. Anna became engaged while still in college and eventually married.

Artha is a boyish-looking girl in mid-teens. She passes from one intense friendship with some girl to another, writes letters to them which are described by her friends as "love letters" and says that if a girl ever had a friendship with another girl such as she has had, she would not be interested in boys.

These three cases clearly are not alike. The first duplicated to some degree the younger girl's relationship with her mother, whom she missed during her first year at college. The second was initiated by an older unmarried woman whose contacts were somewhat limited. The third was recognized by the girl herself as a substitute for friendships with boys.

Adolescent crushes are apt to be of fairly short duration. The emotional tension is so great that it cannot be maintained for a long period of time. In college circles the summer vacation usually breaks up the association and in the fall of the year it often is not resumed, but the girls involved have simply a normal friendship for each other. This great emotional tension is one of the undesirable features of the crush. It places a strain upon the girls and often interferes seriously with work or study, in the same way that a tense love affair, intense grief, great worry or any other emotional experience would interfere with productive mental or physical work.

Socially, the girl places an undesirable limitation upon her contacts when she becomes involved in a crush. At a period of her life when she should be making many friends, among both boys and girls, and should be learning to co-operate and associate with them, she is limiting herself to one intense friendship.

To the extent that she is accustoming herself to an exclusive friendship and comes to prefer such an association to any other she is marking out for herself a future which will be beset with difficulties. Anyone who deviates very far from the expected pattern of living has difficulties. Society demands conformity, especially in the more intimate relationships. The usual pattern

for the young woman is a circle of both men and women friends, leading to marriage and a circle of friends shared by husband and wife. The girl who becomes habituated to the crush goes from one seclusive friendship with another girl, to another, with intervals of loneliness between.

It does not seem true, however, that all crushes lead to such habituation to the crush as the pattern for emotional life. Many, probably most, girls who experience even severe crushes during adolescence later make normal adjustments to groups of girls, to young men, and to marriage. When an adult woman experiences a crush, the matter is more serious, for it may indicate that she has failed completely to make an adjustment to men and that she will never feel the normal interest in men. Among girls secluded in girls' dormitories or clubhouses with few opportunities for contacts with men, the attachments are more apt to grow out of this undesirable situation and to fade away when normal contacts with young men can be established.

There is a general assumption that all crushes should be "broken up." It seems doubtful whether this is always necessary, unless the crush is interfering seriously with the girl's work or the girl fails to show any interest in men. A mistake very commonly made in dealing with crushes is to handle them as though they were reasoned, intellectual affairs, as though the girl could be reasoned with or could by an act of will change her mind. It should be realized that a crush is an emotional attachment and hence not wholly within the realm of reason. Forceful breaking up of a crush by threats or punishment is undesirable. The girl should be sym-

pathetically approached, and if possible should be given some insight into the undesirability of crushes. Very interesting group activities and association with congenial young people of both sexes are both good preventives of crushes and ways in which the attachment to one person may be dissipated into a more general friendship with many. In very severe or protracted cases, more expert advice from psychiatrist or social psychologist is desirable, for in such cases the crush in all probability does not arise from a temporary situation in which there is little opportunity for contacts with men, but may rest upon underlying attitudes which have prevented the development of a normal interest in men as friends.

RESULTS OF FRIENDLESSNESS

It is well recognized sociologically that the social group is the natural group. Isolated individuals are the exception. A baby is born into a family, and in most societies the family is part of a larger social group—neighborhood, clan, tribe, village, church organization, and so on. Hermits are oddities and city people who seclude themselves are regarded with suspicion. In other words, group life of some sort is the natural and expected mode of life. Few people who are isolated are happy. They have been accustomed to living in a family and with friends, and to live any other way is unsatisfactory. The girl who is isolated, whether because of lack of opportunity to meet congenial people, or because of some unfortunate personality trait, is in a precarious position. In her effort to compensate for the lack of human companionship she often tends to become introspective, to daydream, and to find satisfactions in imagination. Such a course

further unfits her for social contacts, and in time she may lose the desire to make any effort to gain friends.¹⁰ The girl who is of a more active disposition and who must have friends may resort to all sorts of methods to gain them. The following rather extreme case may be duplicated in milder form in almost any community.

. . . a girl of seventeen . . . suddenly burst into the limelight for scholastic failures, stealing from rooms in the dormitory, campus exhibitionism (loud clothes, over-rouging, and so forth), alleged wearing of sorority pins belonging to other girls, anonymous telephone calls by herself to herself sent to sorority houses, suspected sexual misdemeanors, and check-forging.

She was a rather pathetic little faker, the daughter of simple peasants of foreign birth, brought up near enough to a college town to have acquired the superficial tricks of collegiate sophistication, which she flashed in the faces of her perplexed parents, fooling them, but not convincing her comrades "to the manner born" that she was what they archly describe as "sorority material." Spurned by them, she took refuge in defiance and ended by pulling her house down on top of her.¹¹

The girl without friends is not only unhappy. She also fails to learn how to co-operate with other young people. Girls need to learn how to work with other women and with men in groups or committee consultation and in executing plans. More and more women are represented on the boards and committees of public and semipublic organizations, such as hospitals, social-work agencies, libraries, and schools. In addition, there are the women's organizations, such as the Y. W. C. A., women's auxil-

¹⁰ A further discussion of daydreaming is given in Chapter VII.

¹¹ Karl A. Menninger, "Adaptation Difficulties in College Students," *Mental Hygiene*, XI (1927), p. 525.

iaries of men's clubs and societies, the Business and Professional Women's Club, the League of Women Voters, church societies and many others which wield considerable influence in community and national affairs. Such groups must act as units to be effective.

For her own happiness and development and in order that she may be trained for effective social life, the adolescent girl needs both men and women friends of her own age.

THOUGHT PROVOKERS

1. What recreational facilities has your community for young men and young women? Who supervises them? Are the present results good?
2. In what ways might your community further develop a wholesome social life in which both young men and young women might share?
3. To what extent should social agencies, such as the church, the Y. W. C. A., and the Y. M. C. A., assume responsibility for recreational life for mixed groups? What responsibility has the family? Young people themselves?
4. Do you know girls who do not seem able to make friends with other girls? Analyze as well as you can the reasons why they do not make friends. How might they be helped?

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CHAPTER VI

THE MIND OF YOUTH

INTELLIGENCE NOT SUFFICIENT

THE vogue for giving intelligence tests to school children, college students and, in some organizations, applicants for employment has led to an undue emphasis upon the importance of intelligence. It will be recalled that figures were given in Chapter II which indicate that five per cent of the population is feeble-minded or borderline, fifteen per cent dull, and eighty per cent normal or superior in intelligence. Other estimates place the percentage of feeble-minded at three per cent. Some of the feeble-minded and most of the people who are dull are able to do certain types of work and are self-supporting. They may not be able to graduate from high school or college and perhaps cannot do work which calls for intricate mental processes. But they are usually quite happy in doing the less intellectual work of the world, which is, after all, fully as important as intellectual productions. The people who actually have to have special supervision and care because they are lacking in mental ability are a small proportion of the population and, since they do present special problems, will not be considered here.

Only in a very broad sense is there a correspondence between intelligence and vocational success. Studies have not been made for women's occupations, but studies which have been made for men show that men in the

professions tend to rank high on intelligence tests and men in unskilled occupations low, with men in other occupations falling between. It must be recognized, of course, that for both men and women choice of occupation is a rather haphazard affair. The dull girl cannot, perhaps, become a college teacher or a doctor because she will find herself unable to carry the college work required as preparation. But there is nothing to prevent the bright girl from doing routine work in a factory or store, and many very bright girls are doing work which is much less intricate than they could do and have much less education than they are capable of assimilating. Thus, while it is true that a girl cannot accomplish beyond her mental capacity to grasp and understand, it is not true that she necessarily makes full use of her mental capacity.

Moreover, within any one occupation, mental capacity does not seem to determine the degree of success. Professor W. W. Charters made a study of salesmen with reference to the relation of vocational success and intelligence and came to the conclusion that the bright man is no more likely to make a good salesman than the man who is less bright.¹ The study of young business girls shows only a slight tendency for the brighter girls to receive higher salaries than those less bright, among girls with the same amount of working experience.²

There is another type of success in life which is perhaps more important for girls than vocational success, since most of them drop out of vocational life when they marry.

¹ W. W. Charters, "Success, Personality, and Intelligence," *Journal of Educational Research*, XI (1925), pp. 169-176.

² Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Business Girls, A Study of Their Interests and Problems*, p. 67.

The girl who is well-adjusted emotionally and in her social relationships is not necessarily the bright girl. Professor Thurstone, whose schedule of neurotic traits was discussed in Chapter II, found that bright students were as apt to be neurotic as dull students; emotional and social adjustment as measured by the neurotic inventory seemed to have no relation to the degree of intelligence of the college students. Delinquent adolescents may be thought of as ones who have failed in another sense to make a happy social adjustment, since they have been unable to fit themselves into the moral customs and laws of the community. The idea that all delinquency is caused by feeble-mindedness has been discarded, for it has been found that most delinquents are not feeble-minded but have normal or better than normal intelligence.

Mental ability may be thought of as a very useful tool. It may be used skillfully and cared for in a way to make it most useful, or it may be neglected and disregarded. Indolence, timidity, lack of ambition, emotional instability, the inability to co-operate with others may all prevent full use of mental capacity. It should not be overlooked that the real motive power of human life is not intelligence but the interests and ideals of the person; and the real hinderance to successful living is not so much lack of intelligence as the lack of a well-organized and self-confident personality.

The case which follows indicates a few of the ways in which a girl, able to make a high score on an intelligence test, is handicapped by other characteristics.

Mary is twenty-eight years old. Her ranking on a standard intelligence test gives her a classification of very

superior mental ability. She graduated from college and taught successfully for three years. She was well liked in the small city where she taught and the last year she was there received the maximum salary. Her success thus far called for no particular initiative on her part, aside from the initial one in securing the position. In the crisis which followed, she was not able to handle the situation, although she is unusually intelligent. She became engaged to be married and stopped work in order to live at home for a time. During the following year she broke the engagement, although she later felt she should have managed the affair better and perhaps never have become engaged. She secured office work, for which she had no particular training. The next summer she went to a larger city and applied for a teaching position through an agency. She did not secure a position and again sought office work. After many disheartening experiences she finally secured clerical work for less salary than she had received the first year she taught. She has been studying bookkeeping in the evenings, attending business school with other girls from the club where she lives. She would have preferred stenographic work but did not like the system taught at this school. (She might have entered some other business school for stenographic training, but has apparently drifted with the crowd rather than take any initiative in planning her work.) She lacks the self-confidence to apply for a bookkeeping position; she feels that business men do not want college-trained girls. She still plays with the idea of teaching but feels that the market is overcrowded, that others have better training, and that she is too old to secure a position. She likes the girls in the club where she lives, although they do not have as much education as she has. She does not tell them that she is college trained. She would like someone to discuss "world problems" with, but makes no effort to get into another group. She says that she never expects to marry.

This girl is pleasing in appearance, dresses well, has an agreeable manner, but is not very aggressive. She has not handled her engagement successfully, and her assertion that she does not plan to marry is evidence of her failure to re-establish a normal viewpoint and to see the value in marriage even though her one approach to it has failed. She has not only failed to re-establish herself in the field for which she is trained, but seems unable to make any definite plan for her vocational future. She has slipped into a group of girls educationally not her equal. Instead of facing the issues squarely, she rationalizes and excuses herself by saying that she is too old, that her college training is against her in business, and so on.

Mental accomplishment is affected also by the way in which the girl tries to learn new things. The brilliant girl who is erratic in her methods of study frequently makes lower marks in school and college than the girl with far less native ability who is persistent and thorough in her work and who "knows how to study." Or the girl may be prevented from using her mental endowment to the best advantage because she is immature in some other aspect. The brilliant girl may be the backward girl socially and never fully learn how to get along with other people. Or she may be immature physically and unable to take her place in the activities of her group, especially if she has "skipped" some school grades and is thus thrown with older girls.

While it is hoped that the foregoing discussion will dispel the popular notion that a high score on an intelligence test is a sure mark of potential success, it is also hoped that the reader will not take the opposite point of

view—that all brilliant people are erratic, queer or freakish. So far as present studies show, intelligence is not closely linked to other traits or characteristics, and whether a girl develops a well-adjusted personality does not depend upon her degree of mental capacity so much as upon the emotional and social habits which are instilled in her from childhood on.

THE CALL OF THE SCHOOLROOM

In America education has become a symbol of social and economic success. The amount of education which people receive has increased enormously during the past generation. A generation ago few women received any college education. In one generation the leap is made in family educational level from eighth-grade education to university education. An analysis of freshmen (boys and girls) entering the University of Chicago in 1929-30 shows that 45.6 per cent of them had fathers who had no education above the eighth grade, and only 25.6 per cent had fathers who were college graduates.³ For those girls who cannot attend college, there are evening schools, correspondence courses, and less formal courses of lectures and classes at settlements, churches, community centers, and the Y. W. C. A.

The interest of young business girls in education is brought out by the responses made to a questionnaire by attendants at a Y. W. C. A. summer conference. These girls may represent a slightly more studious group than business girls in general, since the Y. W. C. A. emphasizes educational classes. A group of approximately one hun-

³ George R. Moon, "The Freshmen of 1929-30," *University of Chicago Magazine*, XXII (1930), pp. 146-148.

dred girls, chiefly from small Middle-Western towns, were asked: "What things do you really want or need that you cannot afford?" Forty-four per cent replied, "Education." In reply to another question, "Do you feel that you lack anything which would make you really happy?" 21.5 per cent replied that they lacked education. When asked what they would do if they inherited one thousand dollars to spend exactly as they pleased, 24.5 per cent stated they would spend it for education. To summarize roughly, approximately a third of all the girls were interested in securing more education. Other questions inquired into the special classes the girls were carrying while they were working. Of the girls who expressed some interest in securing more education, 56 per cent were carrying some type of classroom or correspondence-school study. Of those who failed to indicate on the questionnaire a desire for more education, 32 per cent were carrying some special study. The studies included classes in business training, English, journalism, psychology, and the like.⁴

The problem of the clerical worker and her education is important from the point of view of the community due to the fact that a large number of these girls are capable of doing college work. The intelligence test scores, already quoted in Chapter II, for 277 business girls in Mid-West Y. W. C. A.'s, show that probably half or more of these girls could carry college work with credit to themselves. The scores which they made on the intelligence test are comparable to scores made by students in Illinois state teachers' colleges and by many university students, while a smaller group of the girls

⁴ Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Business Girls, A Study of Their Interests and Problems*, pp. 18-20.

rank with the students in the best universities in the country. There seems, then, a decided social waste in the fact that many girls interested in education and mentally equipped for it are in jobs offering relatively little opportunity for advancement or personal development.

There are several reasons why girls who are interested in education are in offices instead of in college classrooms. One reason is economic. Many of these girls come from families which not only cannot afford to send their daughters to college, or even high school in some instances, but which seem to need the financial assistance of the children. The following statement is typical:

Alice is nineteen years old and has a score well above the average on a standardized intelligence test. She lives with her parents and a younger brother in a large city. When she was in the third year of high school her older sister, who had been working and giving her salary to her mother, married, and Alice stopped attending school in order to work. She gives all of her salary to her parents except a little which she saves. After a short period in one office, she secured a position as assistant to a cashier in a wholesale house. When the cashier married, she was promoted to the vacant place, which carried with it the supervision of nine other workers. She wishes to become an accountant and plans to attend high school at night in order to finish her last year, then to attend college. (With the handicap of a family in need of money and the lack of high-school graduation, it seems doubtful whether she will accomplish her purpose, although in intelligence, manner, and appearance she would be excellent material for college training.)

A second reason is that many of these girls come from families in which there is no tradition that the girls of

the family shall receive an education beyond the grades or at most two years of high school. A study of the occupations of the fathers of these young business girls shows that they tend to be in commercial and clerical occupations and in the skilled trades. Very few of the fathers are professional men. The girls tend to come from the "middle class" socially and economically. A moderate amount of education is conceded to be a good thing. But the family is satisfied, especially for the daughters, if their children after two years of high school enter a white-collar occupation with moderate salary. This family tradition that women need only a moderate amount of education has an enormous effect upon the girls. Not only are their parents not able to provide them with funds for further education, but often they exhibit an active sentiment against allowing the daughter to save her salary for a college education or to work her way through college. Girls who have insisted upon further education have often had to endure severe family opposition.

Helen states that she liked school and was especially fond of English, languages, and history. When she finished grade school, her mother did not want her to go further, although she was not old enough to go to work. "I was to sit around home until I was old enough to go to work. I couldn't continue in school until I reached the age of sixteen. It took my tears and the efforts of a social worker to get mother to let me go on to school. I was sixteen in the middle of the term. I had to stop then and go to work, without finishing out the term."

A college student writes:

My mother never had any educational ambitions for

me. Every time I would mention graduation from high school and then going on to college, she would say: "You don't need to graduate. I never went any farther than the fifth grade and I'm doing all right. And in my day we didn't go more than four or five months out of the year." I couldn't convince her that her circumstances did not appeal to me. I hated the country with nothing but hard work in the summer months and each year putting my father further into debt. Even though mother herself did not like the country, she would not let me argue with her about making my condition in life better than hers. She would always end the arguments with, "Even if you should go to college, you would get married just as soon as you finished, and what good would it be to us? Then all of your time and money would be wasted." I usually let things drop there because I knew that I could never make her see that an education is just as useful to a married lady as it is to the best business woman. After such arguments I was determined to go to college and work my whole way through if it took me ten years to do it. . . . The only thing mother wanted was for her children to get a good job in a large city and then send money home to the rest of the family, and probably later marry some good boy. She seemed to have the idea that God sent children into the world to repay their mothers and fathers for their rearing. Father and mother loved us as much as any parents love their children, but still they wanted financial help, as much as we could give and still have enough to pay board and room in the city.⁵

This interest in education is not limited to the girls who are in office occupations. It is found also in the factory group, where many girls are found whose parents were born in Europe and who have even lower ideals of

⁵ From a case in the White House Conference series.

education for women than have the American-born parents of the office workers. The Y. W. C. A. has special classes and special summer conferences for industrial girls. For some ten years the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry has held an eight-week summer school. Barnard Summer School, in connection with Barnard College, does similar work for the young women industrial workers in New York City. The University of Wisconsin and Brookwood Labor College hold institutes for both men and women industrial workers. The Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry is held at Burnsville, North Carolina, for girls who work in the mills.⁶

The adult who is acting as leader or adviser to young girls is fairly safe in assuming a latent educational interest in many girls who are no longer in school or college. Often all the girl needs to become again an active student is to know where she may find classes or reading courses to interest her. The girl should be encouraged to read and study, although this should not be carried so far that she becomes a "grind" or a bookworm or neglects living contacts for academic interests.

WHAT GIRLS READ

In addition to formal classes and discussion groups, definitely developed reading interests offer an opportunity for educational advancement.

The critical age in developing reading habits and interests comes, according to several studies, in early adolescence. Professor Terman regards a girl's reading inter-

⁶A. J. Muste, "Workers' Education in the United States," *Religious Education*, XXIV (1929), pp. 738-745.

ests as fixed by the time she is fifteen years of age.⁷ In elaboration of this point of view, Gray and Munroe in their excellent study of the reading interests and habits of adults point out that up to eight or nine years of age there seems to be little difference in the reading interests of boys and girls. From this age on, interests diverge. Boys in early adolescence show a marked interest in books of nonfiction, especially books on war, scouting, sports, and adventure, while girls are more interested in stories of home and school life, in fairy stories, and in romances. Girls fail to show any marked interest in nonfiction. They also state that, although many children show a marked interest in children's fiction during pre-adolescent years, when the girl passes beyond the age where this childish fiction appeals to her, she may gradually stop reading for pleasure, or she may experiment with various and not always "good" types of reading. The period from twelve to fifteen, according to Gray and Munroe, is a critical one in the development of reading habits. Boys and girls of this age seek any type of reading that will satisfy dominant interests and curiosities, and unless careful direction is given by understanding adults, reading interests may become organized about trivial or worthless types of reading.⁸

These same authors call attention to the fact that few girls' magazines are published and that girls, in their search for love stories and other fiction, turn to adult magazines.

⁷ Quoted in Henriette R. Walter, *Girl Life in America, a Study of Backgrounds*, p. 117.

⁸ William S. Gray and Ruth Munroe, *The Reading Interests and Habits of Adults*, pp. 104-126, 269-274.

By the time the girl reaches later adolescence we may assume that she has fairly well-fixed habits of reading—a reflection of the influences which have surrounded her during childhood and early adolescence. These reading interests vary from group to group. A study was made of the magazines which 985 Chicago girls employed in industrial establishments said they read. They listed 1,376 magazines, an average of 1.4 magazines each. In a similar study, sixty-nine office workers enrolled in Y. W. C. A. clubs listed 162 magazines, an average of 2.3 magazines each. The types of magazines read also varied between the two groups: 27.1 per cent of the magazines named by the office girls but only 2.5 per cent of those named by the factory girls were of the informational type, such as *Literary Digest*, *National Geographic* and the *World's Work*; 72.9 per cent of the office girls' magazines and 65.5 per cent of the factory girls' magazines were the popular fiction and informational magazines, such as the *Ladies Home Journal*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Pictorial Review* or the *Red Book*; 32 per cent of the magazines listed by the factory girls were of the type of *True Story*, *I Confess*, *Hot Dog*, and the like. None of the Y. W. C. A. business girls in the group studied mentioned magazines of this type. The bulk of reading done by both groups is of the popular fiction magazines, but the groups differ in their interest in informational and sensational magazines.⁹

The two groups differ markedly in background. The industrial girls stopped attending school at fourteen to

⁹ Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Business Girls, A Study of Their Interests and Problems*, p. 36. The information on industrial girls is from A. W. Jefferis, *Study of Reading Interests of Young People in Industry*, p. 166.

sixteen years of age. Even when they attend continuation school, their interest in school is apt to be slight. They are young, inexperienced, with little or no vocational training. They do unskilled or semiskilled work in factories, or stores, and their salaries are small. Their home backgrounds are apt to be low in the economic and educational scale. The business girls here studied have two to four years of high school, sometimes a year or two of college; they have had vocational training and earn fair salaries. This particular group of business girls from the Y. W. C. A., it will be remembered, also had a rather marked interest in education. Other and larger groups of office girls might show different results, although it may be assumed that their interests would differ from those of industrial girls, due to the fact that they have had several years more of schooling, and that they less often come from the newer immigrant groups in which there is little interest in formal education and reading.

It might be noted that neither group of girls reads the so-called "Quality Magazines"—such as *Harpers*, *Scribners*, and the *Atlantic Monthly*. The reading of a group of professional women or perhaps of college students would undoubtedly bring this type of magazine into the picture.

WHY GIRLS READ

There is a general assumption that cultured people ought to read. It seems important to ask why people do read, and what the effect of reading is. Are all motives for reading healthful? Is there such a thing as excessive reading?

No study has been made of the motives which underlie

the reading of older girls. The type of material they read lends itself, however, to certain guesses as to their motives. The great preponderance of magazines specializing in love stories seems to indicate that through these the girl obtains a vicarious outlet for her love interests. The love affairs of the factory or office girl are apt to be mild and slightly prosaic. Her boy friend is probably a fellow worker, someone of her own age and social class with little money. Adventure, thrill, high romance do not come her way. By identifying herself with the heroine of a romantic love story she enjoys thrill, adventure, wealth, and success which she never knows in real life and which often is of a risqué type which she would hesitate to experience in reality. The story of Cinderella, which we dismiss as a child's fairy tale, is repeated over and over in imagination by way of the love story or the movie.

Until the young girl has been aided to develop an intellectual interest in some hobby or a genuine interest in public and social affairs, books of nonfiction and informational magazines will never compete with the thrill and joy of a love story. If other interests can be developed to compete with the romantic interest, the girl's attention may be directed to other types of reading, with some hope that she will follow new lines. Thus some of the girls in the Y. W. C. A. business girls' clubs who have developed an interest in business success which parallels their interest in love and marriage, delight in reading the stories about successful persons in the *American Magazine*, and the few who have a genuinely professional interest in their vocations read trade journals.

Another way to control excessive reading of the ultra-romantic type is to provide for the girl more actual

adventure and thrill, for example, through mixed parties for both boys and girls and through picnics, camping trips, hikes, and in clubs through the use of dramatics, pageants, and festivals.

It is not, however, only in the matter of romantic interests that reading provides more pleasure than reality. Often the girl who has come to feel inferior or "left out of things" or who does not fit into her social group at school or at work will find a vicarious satisfaction in books.

By identifying herself with a popular or successful heroine she momentarily enjoys the feeling of success which she does not secure through social contacts. Such reading is very similar to excessive daydreaming and may have the same deleterious effects—the girl may satisfy herself with the feeling of success which comes through reading and may fail to make the painful effort to throw aside her timidity and to become successful in reality.

Clearly, it is not sufficient that the girl should enjoy reading. Many types of reading, while they may fulfill a genuine need of the girl, prevent her from making a really effective adjustment to conditions and are really an indication of some social maladjustment. The reading which is educational in value appeals not primarily or wholly to the emotions (as much of the popular fiction does), but is organized around some hobby or interest.

STIMULATING READING INTERESTS

So long as the girl is in school, there is a general assumption that the school should control and guide reading interests with whatever help it can get from the home. The agencies which have influenced the reading interests

of high-school pupils, according to the study made by Gray and Munroe, stand as follows: the home, 28.3 per cent of the children; school, 23.7 per cent; public library, 15 per cent; certain books, magazines, and pictures, 14.3 per cent; companions 13 per cent; and miscellaneous, 5.7 per cent.¹⁰

According to these figures, the church had little part in stimulating and guiding the reading interests of the high-school pupils studied. This situation is perhaps not serious as long as girls are in school and at home. But the girl in later adolescence has lost her contact with school; she is gradually becoming independent of her parents' home—perhaps has already gone to another city to live and work. If the church can maintain its contact with young people, it might well assume an obligation with reference to stimulating and organizing reading interests. This does not mean that the church should maintain a library—although some churches do, and there is a certain advantage in having books easily accessible to young people, for a girl will read when she can obtain books after a club meeting, whereas she might not make a special trip to the library to secure a book. Some churches and Y. W. C. A.'s in cities solve the problem by maintaining a branch of the public library. When a library is not maintained in the church, there is still an opportunity for stimulating reading. An occasional sermon upon an interesting new book, book review and discussion clubs, and the general reference to new books during discussions of other types, all aid in stimulating reading interests.

The mistake should not be made, however, of assuming

¹⁰ Gray and Munroe, *The Reading Interests and Habits of Adults*, p. 117.

that because a girl is told that a certain book would be "good" for her, she will read it. If she admires the person who tells her this, she will probably read it. Otherwise, some genuine appeal to her interests must be made, and often the development of good reading habits must grow gradually out of the building up of certain interests. Thus a discussion program on current events or on social problems may lead to the reading of magazine articles and books. One of the writers at one time taught a class in psychology at a Chicago Y. W. C. A. There was no textbook, but the teacher brought each week from her personal library and from the public library certain books on psychology. A few comments about the books and the assumption that the girls would want to read them resulted in the girls taking the books home with them. Some of the girls read only a few chapters of one book, but a few in the class read two to four books during the fifteen weeks that the course ran.

The organization of reading interests should not exclude fiction, but it should include reading of an informational type and also the building up of reading about some central interest. Often fiction and nonfiction may be read with the same end in view. At present there is much interest in the countries of Europe which are undergoing social and political change, such as Russia and Spain. An interest in Russia, for instance, would call not only for the reading of books describing Russia and discussing the changes taking place, but also for the reading of Russian fiction. Political novels, historical novels, novels about the development of the Western frontier, about urban life, and the like all have a definite place in the organized reading interests of the cultured person.

But they are read, not solely for the emotional thrill received, but because of the insight which they give into some phase of life which the person cannot experience directly and personally.

THOUGHT PROVOKERS

1. What opportunities does your community afford for further education of girls who have left public school?
2. How many ways can you list through which club leaders, ministers, and other advisers of girls may stimulate educational interests in girls?
3. Should churches in general offer lecture courses and study classes? In many fields? In what fields? If no other organization offers study courses for young people, ought the church do so? Would it be better to do it as an additional activity or as part of an Epworth League program or in connection with a Sunday-school class?
4. How can your church co-operate with the public library to stimulate good reading?
5. If there is no public library in your town, how could the churches best provide reading material? By having each church start its own library? By a co-operative church effort? By a community effort?

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CHAPTER VII

THE EMOTIONAL BALANCE WHEEL

THE NATURE OF EMOTIONAL HABITS

EMOTIONAL life is one of the least understood and at the same time one of the most important aspects of conduct. Loves, hates, angers, prejudices, fears, admiration are more forceful in determining conduct than is knowledge. By the time a girl is twelve she *knows* what the adults in her community think is right or wrong in most of the major situations of life. But this knowledge is no surety that she will adhere to the accepted standards. Emotional conflicts, sudden attachments or fears may cause the girl to do things which she herself believes are wrong.

In their elementary form in the young baby emotions are evidenced by outbursts of physical activity, such as crying, screaming, kicking, random striking, or cooing, smiling and, later, attempts at fondling. Dr. John B. Watson, in his first careful experiments with babies, found three marked emotions, which he called anger, love, and fear.¹ With the development of mental powers and social experience many shades of emotion become apparent, such as disgust, disdain, scorn, joy, feelings of panic, and the like. By the time the girl reaches later adolescence she has a complete repertoire of emotions ranging from very slight feeling to very marked feeling, each expressive of her attitudes and feeling toward some definite person or situation. Thus the sight of a snake

¹ *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist.*

or a mouse may always call out a feeling of revulsion or fear, no matter how quiet the animal may be. An older, well-dressed woman, even a stranger, may typically call out a feeling of admiration. To see an animal or a child abused may instantly arouse anger.

These emotional habits have a history in the experience of the person. The baby has the capacity for emotional reactions, but there are only a few things which make him angry, afraid, or responsive. The young adult has a much richer emotional life.

There is no particular agreement among psychologists regarding the process by which this rich emotional life is developed from the relatively few emotional responses of the baby. According to Doctor Watson, the baby reacts emotionally to only a few situations: thus anger is exhibited when the baby's movements are restrained; love when he is petted and fondled; fear when he hears a loud, harsh noise or when he is dropped and firm support is released. By a series of experiments Watson discovered that he could cause the baby to be afraid of other things by associating other objects with the natural fear-object. Thus, by showing the child a rabbit, which the child liked, at the same time that he struck a metal bar making a harsh sound, which the child naturally feared, he soon caused the child to be as afraid of the rabbit as it had been of the harsh noise. Undoubtedly, many objects which the child comes to fear are accidentally associated with something previously feared—in the beginning, presumably with loud noises. And many things the child likes are liked because they were first experienced in connection with something previously liked.

But as the child grows and his experiences broaden, emotional habits develop in other ways, and emotional reactions occur in a variety of situations. Thus stories of crime read in the newspaper with their threats to bodily safety and the security of property may cause fear. One country girl who came to Chicago and who had read of its numerous daylight holdups was afraid to walk to the bank with the checks for deposit from the firm where she worked. She was really afraid she might be held up. The teacher who ridicules a girl before her classmates and causes the girl to become self-conscious is often hated. Apparently, any threat to safety or to self-respect will produce an emotional reaction and may lead to the development of an emotional habit, by which is meant a tendency for the emotional reaction to occur whenever a certain type of situation occurs.

When either child or adult is placed in a situation which she does not know how to handle, emotional reactions are apt to occur. Fires in theaters or dormitories cause panics because the people do not have any past experience to teach them how to act under the circumstances. Fire drills are an attempt to build up a habit which will take care of the situation and by providing effective action prevent panic. The girl who fears she will lose her job has this feeling because she does not know what she would do without a job. If she were absolutely certain she could at once secure another job, she would find her fears ended. The girl who cries when she loses her purse often does so because she does not know what procedure to follow to recover it or how to take care of her expenses without the money which was in it. Excessive anger may occur because the person has never been taught how

to express resentment or indignation in any socially acceptable fashion.

TAMING THE EMOTIONS

It is part of the heritage of the American to believe that self-restraint is good and right. The Puritan of several centuries ago thought it wrong to kiss his wife on Sunday. We retain enough of this general attitude so that most of our effort to control emotions has been directed toward the repression of emotions. According to the typical American attitude, it is weak, childish, disgusting to show emotions. In writing of the development of adequate emotional life, John J. B. Morgan states:

There is no phase of life more important for lasting happiness than the proper development of the emotional life. From earliest times people have recognized the importance of emotional life. But the fact that errors in this field may lead to violent disturbances has led to a policy of inhibiting all emotional outlets rather than providing a normal and legitimate outlet. This tendency has led adults to teach children to fear their emotions. Consequently, we have all tended to hide the fact that we have any feelings. You may attend a theatrical performance which is designed to play on the emotions of the auditors and observe the audience responding in sly ways but making a heroic attempt to cover all overt expression. The solution is not utter abandonment to any stray emotional stimulus, nor absolute inhibition, but, rather, selective training. Certain types of emotional reactions should be cultivated, others should be diverted. Some particular ways of responding should be fostered and others avoided.²

² "Developing Adult Emotions," *Religious Education*, XXIV (October, 1929), p. 765.

It has thus become a recognized part of the training of children that they shall be taught to inhibit emotional reactions. Adult society in America is based on the assumption that this control of emotional reactions has been learned by the time the child becomes an adolescent. Thus, the high-school girl may dislike her teachers and her studies, but rarely is there a genuine outburst of emotion to express this dislike. Adolescents may rebel inwardly against their parents, but they have learned to conceal their emotions. Occasionally this control is incomplete and an adolescent boy or girl will in a passion of anger injure or even kill someone with whom he has quarreled. In general, marked emotional reactions are found only under the four conditions named in the preceding section: when there is an association, usually built up during childhood, with some other emotionally tinged object or situation; when there is a threat to safety of oneself or one's loved ones; when one's self-respect is threatened; and when a totally new situation occurs. For the ordinary and usual events ways of behaving have been established which do not involve violent emotional reactions.

The girl who has not learned some kind of emotional control is at a great disadvantage, especially when she leaves the shelter of her family for the more impersonal relations of college or industry. The girl of twenty who relates the following episode had not acquired proper control of her emotions:

I was at our cabin on the lake with my father and a group of friends. The men were going hunting and would take only the girls who could shoot with them. I got angry and wanted to go. They wouldn't let me, and I

raised such a fuss that my father embarrassed me by threatening to spank me. I got so mad that I grabbed a revolver and said I would kill myself, and I was so angry I think I would have done so if I had known how to handle the revolver. As it was, I nearly killed one of the other girls. I was frightened at myself afterward. I don't know why I got so mad at the time.

We are prone to think of detrimental emotions in terms of the violent ones—anger, hate, rowdyism. A tendency to indulge in despondency and despair is fully as detrimental to the development of a stable and well-rounded personality as is failure to control anger and hate.

A girl of twenty-two who gives piano lessons relates that she has "a general feeling of the blues, not deep enough for despair, which goes on almost constantly." This feeling is accompanied by the wish that she had not been born. As the reason she gives the fact that she has to give music lessons to children "who have no ear for music and no feeling for it." She "hates to teach" but it is the only way she has of earning money to study music further. The feeling lasts from several hours to a half day. She puts herself into a better mood by playing some favorite selection.

Moods such as this are at least partially under the control of the person. A deeper interest in the children whom she teaches, the development of new interests, or an entire shift in vocation would help this girl to correct her habit of sinking into moods of despondency.

A few people in the world who suffer from constitutional emotional instability are apparently unable to control their emotions. These people are in a special class and demand expert attention from a psychiatrist. They need not concern us here. Our problem is with normal girls,

capable of control, but who have never learned to direct and restrain their emotions.

THE INDIFFERENT GIRL

At the opposite extreme from the girl without emotional control is the girl with too complete emotional control, who either actually feels no emotional reactions or who inhibits their expression too completely. A certain emotional warmth and sparkle is not only agreeable to other people but also necessary for the happy pursuance of life, especially in a day when girls are no longer wholly protected by their families but must stand independently against the pressures of the world. The failure to feel a flash of anger or resentment at a personal affront or when others are mistreated is not always an advantage, since the person who is indifferent tends to condone such conduct. Many social evils are continued because the great bulk of the population is comfortably lacking in any emotional response to the situation.

Many girls remain in positions where they are underpaid or treated without respect because they dare not protest for fear of losing their jobs. The fear overcomes the more aggressive emotion of anger and results in an appearance of indifference. Fear is often in conflict with the more expressive emotions. One girl in the early twenties refused to permit her friends to introduce her to young men. She was afraid she would fall in love and that it would upset and disturb her. She would not permit herself to have men friends. A few years later she did fall in love, not once, but over and over, never succeeding in letting matters progress to the point of marriage, largely because she had never learned how to

express her desire for friendship and her growing liking for the man in question. Especially with the emotion of love and the natural interest of girls in men is there likely to be disagreeable results if all expression of the emotion is repressed. The women in the thirties and forties whom young girls regard as "dried up old maids" are all too often the ones who never permitted themselves any expression of love and who have come to have a bitter and critical attitude toward younger women with a normal interest in men.

CHILDISH FEARS

Even a well-organized home training and social life will leave here and there emotional stumbling-blocks. Some of the most frequently observed of these deserve discussion. Many fears, both trivial and serious, appear in the emotional reactions of otherwise well-adjusted girls. The way in which fears are developed in childhood and the tenacity with which they cling are well illustrated by the following excerpt from the life story of a girl of twenty, who was reared in the country:

I was never afraid in the dark. Mother never even hinted that people were. I used to go upstairs, and down a long hallway to the further end of the house at night to get something for mother, with no sense of fear whatsoever. In fact, these pilgrimages were rather fun because the candlelight made all sorts of interesting and grotesque shadows on the walls. Then, one night when my aunt and her two youngest sons, who were about my age, were visiting us, these cousins refused to go up to bed alone because they were afraid. It was the half-hints which I gathered about bears and spooks which made me afraid. I didn't know just what I was afraid of. It is that way

sometimes now when I am alone in the dark. I am afraid, but I don't know what I fear. Only sometimes, however, for there are long periods now when I have no fears. Then, out of nowhere, and for no reason, it will pop up and I will be frozen with terror. The awful sensation comes upon me that I am being stalked by someone or something. Knowing that I am not, trying to analyze it, doesn't seem to relieve the sensation. It goes as it comes.

Hoot owls and cats' eyes at night were my two hoodoos as a child. When I was very young, I was sitting on a gate one night watching the men milk. A hoot owl in a tree close by began to screech. It flew over my head once or twice and I was petrified. I yelled for my mother. Hoot owls screeching still send a shiver up and down my spine.

One night I turned quickly and saw green eyes peering in the window at me. It was only the family pet cat, but I was very much frightened. There is something weird about cats' eyes at night. I've never liked them since that time.

As indicated in the last case, reasoning and analysis may prove ineffectual in destroying a long-continued fear, although the fear whose origin is understood is usually less violent than the fear which is felt but not understood. Often new and pleasant associations with the object feared must be built up gradually. While adults do not always react as do children, the following experiment with a child is significant: A child was afraid of rabbits. He was placed in a group of children who liked rabbits and was beginning to lose his fear of the pet rabbit when he was frightened by a dog and his fear returned. The method of retraining was changed and the child was shown the rabbit when he was eating and

enjoying his lunch. At first the rabbit was kept at considerable distance but day by day was brought closer and closer until the child was willing to have the rabbit on his lap while he ate.³ He had come to associate with the rabbit some of the pleasure which he derived from eating his lunch.

GIRLS WHO FEAR MEN

One fear most crucial for the girl's development is the fear of men which certain girls have. This fear may have one of several causes. There is a period in the growth of boys and girls when there is apt to be considerable antagonism between them, when boys tease and pull hair and when girls cry and tell their mothers or teachers. Normally, this stage of antagonistic attention wears itself out by the time of middle adolescence, and friendly relations follow. But occasionally a girl's feeling of fear and resentment toward boys continues into youth and interferes seriously with her normal friendships. This may be due to some particularly disagreeable experience with boys.

In other cases the fear has been built up by the mother, consciously or unconsciously. The mother who is unhappily married and openly before her children has blamed the husband through long years for all her unhappiness may do lasting damage to her daughter's normal development. Other mothers, in a mistaken effort to "protect" their daughters from men, have taught them that no man is to be trusted.

Closely akin to fear of boys is shyness with them.

³ Mary Cover Jones, "The Conditioning of Children's Emotions," *A Handbook of Child Psychology*, pp. 90-91.

Girls who, as they grow up, have had few contacts with boys often are very shy, self-conscious, and uncomfortable when thrown with them in later adolescence.

Group activities are an excellent solution for many of the difficulties between boys and girls in later adolescence. Parties and socials have their advantages, but they are out of the ordinary run of things; everyone is dressed up and on good behavior, perhaps unduly self-conscious. Activities with some more impersonal goal than a good time will tend to take attention from the relationship itself and focus it on the goal to be reached. Thus the planning in committee for a party, the decorating and undecorating of the clubrooms, and so on, may have more value in building up friendships and understanding between young men and women than the party or dance itself.

In cases of marked fear and shyness on the part of girls, fear so marked that it is not gradually dissipated by group activities in which the girl works along with young men, some investigation of the girl's attitude may be called for. Discovering the origin of the fear may give the lead which will result in dispelling it.

MISPLACED HERO WORSHIP

Admiration for someone felt to be superior is a normal and worth-while emotion, especially when it involves some degree of effort to develop better traits. Abject hero worship, however, usually leads to a feeling of inferiority which stultifies growth. The degree of admiration and also the person admired are important for the young girl. It would probably be very bad if she admired no one, worshiped no person, aspired to become like no one.

To realize that there are greater personalities than herself is to recognize the opportunity for growth.

Schools and churches consciously attempt to give young people an ideal personality to which they may look for patterns of conduct. Abraham Lincoln and George Washington are the two school favorites, and, in fact, when held up as patterns for the young, they have been so idealized that they have almost lost their human qualities and have often been presented as quite unreal saints. The failure of young people to respond to the heroes held up to them by their teachers often is because the ideals have been dehumanized.

This failure to respond to the heroes held up by teachers does not mean that girls do not respond to the appeal of an ideal. But they often find their ideals in a more stimulating and less rarefied atmosphere than in the galaxy of saints. Moving-picture actresses are especially popular with many young girls. Clark Gable or Rudy Vallee is the male hero for many girls. The appeal of these living, vital, romantic figures far outweighs the appeal of the dead saint. A part of the difficulty is that the saint or national hero is removed in time and space. What Washington did in 1780 in the village communities of a frontier nation may not appeal to the girl or boy living in the urbanized town of the 1930's. In addition to this gap in time, the way in which stories of heroes are presented is often in direct contradiction to some of the recognized rules of learning.

Professor Charters, in his book, *The Teaching of Ideals*, makes a clear distinction between *traits* and *trait actions*. The trait may be honesty, but this means little to the child or young person. Trait actions, such as not taking

money that belongs to another person, not taking flowers from a neighbor's yard, not lying about the book which is lost, are the things which must be taught. Eventually, the general trait of honesty must be developed, it is true, but in the beginning it must come through learning to be honest in specific, homely, everyday situations. The more subtle traits such as unselfishness, courage, or the exercise of good judgment are often presented to adolescents and young people in a generalized way and without reference to the situations in which the girl herself must exercise these traits. To admire Florence Nightingale for her courage, sense of humanity, and selflessness is one thing; it is quite another to bring over those traits and apply them in home, office, and school in dealing with parents, employer, and classmates.

It is this latter step which is usually omitted when some ideal personality is presented to young people for their emulation. Hence, more often than not, the ideal or hero held up for admiration of the girl is formally admired in the classroom but forgotten entirely in the critical situations of life. The movie star, the admired teacher, the older friend is the one who sets the real pattern for the daily activities of the girl. The difficulty here is just the reverse of the difficulty with the traditional or historical hero. The girl is too close to her pattern. As in the first case she saw only the general outlines and none of the details which she might use, so here she is apt to see only the details and not the general traits. She copies the way her heroine wears her hair, the way she walks, the intonation of her voice, but she overlooks the opportunity to embody in her own life the personality traits of the one admired.

MISPLACED LOYALTIES

Exceedingly great wisdom is needed in the selection of the causes to which young people are encouraged to give their loyalty. Teachers and ministers often build up in young people unintelligent and uncritical loyalties to traditional causes without proper thought of the young person's future. A blind loyalty to the family may be one of these. The girl who is praised for leaving school at the age of fourteen or fifteen to go to work in order that she may help her family has often done a most unwise thing from the point of view both of her own future and of the ultimate assistance which she may render the family.

Care is needed also to avoid building up blind loyalties to local church standards, when the minister and teachers know that the standards of many other recognized institutions are in conflict with these particular standards. There is far more need that the girl should be taught to evaluate different standards of values and to make an intelligent choice (even though it may differ from that of the minister or teacher) than that she should blindly give allegiance to any one standard. Girls often enter college with the idea instilled in them that they must not study the physical or biological sciences because the facts learned there may wreck some religious concept inculcated in childhood. This type of loyalty is both unintelligent and fragile.

In other realms loyalty may become merely prejudice. The girl who is taught that her denomination, her race, her social class is the best or the only one worthy of allegiance receives by implication the attitude that other

denominations, races, or social classes are wrong, inferior or unworthy. Intolerance, even hatred, may follow.

Thus, although loyalty to certain groups and standards is desirable, it should be a loyalty which permits the girl to appreciate the fact that other groups and standards are merely different from and not necessarily inferior to her own.

MISPLACED SENSITIVENESS

Unless a girl is to blunder through the world without cognizance of her own errors or the feelings of others, she must have a delicate appreciation of the way in which she affects others. The proper type of sensitiveness prevents her from offending others and enables her to know when she is pleasing to others. But many girls who have failed in a field of activity in which they desire to succeed develop an exaggerated sensitiveness toward that field. The situation is best illustrated by reference to social activities. The girl of eighteen or twenty rightfully wishes to be considered attractive, charming, popular. Yet many girls are not so. Quite often this is because of defects in earlier training—they have not learned what color of dress is becoming, whether tailored or ruffly dresses bring out their best points, how to acknowledge an introduction, or how to put another person at his ease. But the girl of eighteen or twenty does not analyze the situation. She only knows that she wants popularity, that she has tried to secure it with the best means at her command, and that she has failed. She may, of course, ask someone more experienced than herself what the difficulty is; she may try again and again until she gradually learns to overcome her shortcomings. But instead

quite often she withdraws into herself and refuses to enter the competition again. She is permitting herself to feel an exaggerated sensitiveness toward her failure.

If she still craves recognition, she may throw all her effort into another field of endeavor. Many of the students in college who become "grinds," many of the girls in offices who work overtime and feed on the praise of their superiors for so doing, are girls who have failed in securing normal praise and recognition in social life. This is not to say, of course, that hard study in college and keenness in the office are to be discouraged. But a balance of activities is needed. Social life has its values and offers opportunities for development of qualities not inherent in other situations. To omit from one's life as completely as some girls do the whole of one aspect of life is definitely to limit the development of personality. The girl who gives an undue and unbalanced amount of time to church work, to housekeeping duties, or to studying should not be praised unduly. Her life in all its aspects should be examined and she should be encouraged to enter also into the other activities of the girls of her age, even though she is sensitive about previous failures in these activities.

FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY

Closely related to excessive sensitiveness is the feeling of inferiority which many girls experience. Perhaps no emotional reaction has had more publicity during recent years than the so-called "inferiority complex." In most people the feeling does not become deeply rooted nor sufficiently entwined with other aspects of life to merit its being called a "complex." The feeling of inadequacy

and of being inferior to other people is a very common one, however. The girl who so feels may not be inferior so far as innate capacity is concerned. Self-consciousness, lack of training in social ease, lack of self-confidence may inhibit the girl in the use of her abilities and in time she may feel that she really cannot do things which other girls are able to do. Sometimes one conspicuous failure will leave a deep impression of inadequacy. Thus, in one instance typical of many, a girl well-trained in playing the piano forgot her music during a recital and had to leave the room with her selection unfinished. It was many months before she could conquer her fear of failure and again play before an audience.

In other cases there really is a lack of capacity, although the girl may wish to accomplish as much as those around her. If she is not of the retiring type, she may cover her feeling of inferiority by a seeming display of power and ability. Thus the girl who is really socially timid may either become tongue-tied or may talk too loudly and too fast in the effort to conceal her timidity. Boasting may be a shield for a feeling of inferiority. Other girls who are unable to secure full acceptance in the groups of their equals may compensate by a dominance of some sort in a younger group. The bully does this in an undesirable way; the older girl who becomes the devoted leader of a club of younger girls, to the exclusion of contacts with those of her own age, may be doing the same thing in a way which, although it may be beneficial to the younger girls, is not necessarily so to her.

Once established, a feeling of inferiority is difficult to overcome, even when the girl understands why she has it. Many college girls, secretaries, and young professional

women who were reared in lower middle-class homes and later find themselves members of a group with more cultural background are unable to throw off a feeling of inferiority. Such a girl often has a tendency either to feel shy and subservient or to assert herself unnecessarily in the effort to prove to herself that she is as good as her associates.

When the inferiority has a basis in fact and is not merely the result of attitudes established by earlier experiences, the first step in adjustment must be the admission of the inferiority. It is difficult for the girl who is less bright, less gifted, than her companions to acknowledge it to herself. It is much easier for her to bluff before her friends and delude herself by excuses for her shortcomings, to cover her fear of her own half-acknowledged defects by rationalizations. The solution must lie in a frank facing of shortcomings and the determination to become successful along some line where success is possible, and in the degree to which it is possible.

DAYDREAMS AND OTHER MEANS OF ESCAPE

When life as it exists contains too many hardships and disappointments, there is a normal human tendency to escape. The ways of dodging unpleasant realities are numerous. If the real cause of failure is herself, the girl may develop the habit of blaming others—someone has been unfair to her, she has not had a square deal, and so forth; or she may find excuses for herself—her health always has been poor, she has frequent headaches, and so on. She may utilize baby traits to smooth her difficulties away.

One of these baby traits to which many girls are

addicted is the tendency to cry when any difficulty arises. So universal is this tendency that it is usually accepted as a feminine trait. Nevertheless, it seems to be more a matter of training than due to any inborn tendency. Among young children, boys seem to cry as readily as girls when a difficult situation arises, but boys are early taught that crying is unmanly; in order to meet the approval of their parents or of older boys, they are led to restrict their tears and to find some more effective method of meeting problems. Girls rarely receive this type of training to the same extent. By the time the girl becomes mature the habit of crying is more or less fixed. The girl may come to accept it as something which she cannot help, even as a very useful method of obtaining her own way.

Another immature method of adjustment is the tendency to run away. This may be done figuratively or literally. The girl may simply refuse to face the fact that she has problems, or she may find all sorts of reasons for their existence except the right ones. Thus one girl, who later became very much disorganized emotionally, insisted that errors which she made in transcribing letters from her shorthand notes were not due to any misunderstanding or incompetency on her part but were due to the deliberate intention of her employer, who dictated incorrectly in order that he might later place her in the wrong.

Other girls actually do run away when they are faced with a difficult situation. Running away is typically an adolescent phenomenon. The Bureau which deals with runaways in New York City states that most girl runaways are about fifteen years of age.⁴ There are probably

⁴F. F. Van de Water, "Missing!" *World's Work*, LVIII (1929), p. 86.

just as many older girls who evade difficulties by walking off and leaving them, but they are able to do so under the guise of securing work in some other city, leaving one position for another, or transferring from one college to another. That is, for the older girl there are acceptable ways in which she can get out of a difficult situation, but for the young adolescent who still is financially dependent upon her family there is little opportunity to leave an unhappy environment. The ones who attempt to leave it by running away cannot be said to act with any great amount of intelligence. Usually, they have no vocational training to make it possible for them to work where they go, and no money with which to support themselves. They are more or less at the mercy of the people with whom they come in contact. Sometimes this ineffectual method of running away may even become a habit, as in the case below.

A twenty-year-old girl quarreled with her lover and without warning went to Chicago. This was the third time she had run away. In a few weeks she wished to return home and took \$50 not belonging to her. Later she confessed that she had taken this money and promised to repay it. Previously this girl had entered college but had not fitted in and had left.⁵

A third rather immature method of meeting a problem is by escape into the world of the imagination. Daydreaming is supposed to be especially typical of adolescents. One of the most interesting discussions of the daydreams of the adolescent girl is that of Lorine Pruette.⁶

⁵ Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Business Girls, A Study of Their Interests and Problems*, p. 81.

⁶ Lorine Pruette, "What's Happening in the Daydreams of the Adolescent Girl?" *Journal of Social Hygiene*, X (1924), pp. 419-24.

She states that the daydreams of the adolescent girl tend to fall into one of two classes: romance, or the love dream, and success, or the achievement dream.

In the study of business girls, to which reference has already been made, the questionnaire included this question: "What kind of daydreams do you repeatedly have?" The question was answered by 94 office workers, who listed 128 daydreams, and by 60 college undergraduates, who listed 94 daydreams. When grouped and classified, the daydreams revealed were as follows: 36.2 per cent of the business girls and 30.0 per cent of the college girls had daydreams concerning marriage, a home, children, and so forth; 34.1 per cent of the business girls and 54.9 per cent of the college girls daydreamed about business or professional advancement.

College girls, not yet launched upon a career, were more concerned with it in daydreams than business girls who were already earning a salary. Another dominant interest was apparent in both groups, an interest in travel: 31.9 per cent of the business girls and 20.0 per cent of the college girls repeatedly daydreamed about traveling. Other, less frequently listed, daydreams concerned education, money, and being of service to others.⁷

These daydreams support in large measure Lorine Pruette's assertion that adolescent daydreams are largely anticipatory or preparatory in character. They tend to rehearse the later adult life into which the adolescent hopes soon to enter.

To the extent that adolescent daydreams are merely of this anticipatory sort, they are not particularly harm-

⁷ Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Business Girls, A Study of Their Interests and Problems*, p. 21.

ful. It is necessary, of course, to distinguish at the outset between the daydream which is an end in itself, which gives the person satisfaction compensating for some lack in his life, and the daydream of a more constructive type which leads on into activity. Probably no invention was ever made, no literary work produced, no great business enterprise launched, without a considerable amount of imaginative mental activity accompanying it. But this type of imaginative activity can scarcely be called daydreaming for it is organized around some central interest and leads directly to production. In the daydream of the undesirable type, the girl typically imagines herself in any glorified situation she wishes, but makes no effort to accomplish anything in actuality. Thus, to the girl who has many boy friends and who confidently expects to marry in the course of a few years, the daydream of marriage has a different meaning than it has to the lonely girl without men friends who finds in her daydreams an emotional substitute for the dates and marriage of her girl friends.

The latter type of daydream does not assist the girl in facing her problem. Rather, it is a refuge from her problem, and may be the first step in developing an ingrained habit whereby she consistently refuses to face problems but turns to her own imagination for satisfaction. Such persons at best are ineffectual in social life or in securing satisfaction for their interests; and sometimes they pass over into a condition of actual mental abnormality. Thus there is danger in the daydream which is too far separated from reality, although the daydream need not be feared which anticipates and enacts in advance that which in all probability will soon come to pass in

reality, and which does not shut the girl out of actual contacts with life.

DRAMATICS, PLAY AND RITUAL

Both the girl who has no control over her emotional reactions and the girl who is too completely inhibited or who is actually indifferent need guidance and training. Too often this phase of life is regarded as an individual or a family matter and the community or social agencies do not assume responsibility.

Group expression of emotions may be found through dramatics, ritual, and group play. Rarely do young people have an opportunity for such emotional expression unless some community institution organizes these activities and initiates them.

While dramatics, play, and ritual do not take the place of individual training, they do provide opportunity for the expression of many emotions otherwise either inhibited or somewhat dangerous to the individual when allowed too free expression.

In the past, release from the repressions of everyday life was provided in periods of license—Halloween, Mardi Gras, May Day festivals, and the like were periods for release from moral conventions. In modified form, these special days have come down to us. On Halloween children still do many acts of destruction for which they would be severely censured on any other day.

Schools, churches, and other social agencies would do well to admit that emotional expression is both necessary and advisable for the well-developed personality. Personal friendships and relationships usually are adequate for the friendly and affectional emotions, but they

are scarcely the place to express the less socialized emotions, nor do they always provide for group emotional life.

Dramatics, group play, artistic ritual, and dancing all act as emotional releases in supervised form for those who participate. They broaden and increase the emotional life. The girl who can throw herself whole-heartedly into a dramatic production gives exercise to emotional tones perhaps never used in her everyday life. Hidden behind make-up and costume, she has for a time a new personality. She comes out of the play refreshed emotionally and with a wider understanding of the possibilities of emotional life and perhaps of the perplexities into which emotions can throw one. In drama one may for a time play at having complete emotional release without having this release tangle the even threads of daily life.

Group play gives opportunity for enthusiasm, fun, competition, and sturdy endeavor. There has been much written lately against play as a competitive activity. One should play for the sake of playing. There is, of course, joy in the physical stimulus and feeling of well-being that comes through exercise. But there is an added joy to competition and the glow of winning—and an occasional loss gives expression to a type of emotion not often felt. It is well once in a while to be a failure, if for no other reason than to see life for a moment from the point of view of the person who chronically feels herself a failure.

Parties, carnivals, and so-called "circuses" also have their place among young people. There is a certain advantage in masked parties. When masked, the shy girl may become charmingly bold; the vigorous girl may

for an evening pretend she is Robin Hood; the girl whose love of the comic ordinarily must be suppressed may for an hour be a clown.

Still another way in which emotional expression may be organized and released is through furtherance of some social cause, such as the cause of international peace or some local issue. Here is an excellent outlet for feelings of indignation and anger, an opportunity for gathering together of emotional forces for strong release. In the past, the struggle for equal political rights, the fight in city settlements against indifference and immorality, and the vigorous work to build up a temperance attitude served this purpose for women. Most people enjoy a struggle, and it is well for them to know how to organize themselves for it. Personal struggles and fights are taboo, especially among girls. The social struggle for better social conditions is an excellent substitute and gives good training in marshaling one's resources against an adversary.

THOUGHT PROVOKERS

1. Describe from your own experience a girl with unrestrained emotions. In what ways is she handicapped? How might she learn to control her emotions?
2. Describe a girl who has little or no emotional reaction. Is it easy or difficult to secure her co-operation? Why?
3. List all the emotional habits among girls whom you know which interfere seriously with their happiness or efficiency. How might they be assisted in overcoming these habits?
4. What does your church do to provide emotional

expression and training for young people? What further might it do?

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CHAPTER VIII

AN ADEQUATE PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

A PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

MANY people struggle from youth to old age without a well-rounded philosophy of life. They live in the routine of their daily tasks and their attitude toward things beyond their immediate experience is one of suspicion or of wonder. Others have a very simple philosophy bound up in a naïve belief in Fate, Providence, or a conception of God to whom they can attribute all the things they do not understand, from great joys to great disasters. While such a belief gives a certain degree of resignation and makes possible the acceptance of the difficult periods of frustration and grief which most people experience from time to time, it constitutes only the most elementary type of life philosophy.

Because it is within their mental grasp, children are quite often taught this naïve acceptance of things. When adolescence and adulthood come, and the young person begins to have wider experiences, to discover varied problems and varied ways of meeting them, and to read more widely into the conceptions of life held by other people, the childhood conceptions are no longer tenable. Many questions crowd into the young girl's consciousness demanding answers. What is the meaning and purpose of life—or has it no meaning? Are people born, merely to work that they may eat, to sleep that they may work, finally to die—or is there some ultimate goal toward which the endeavor of each life might contribute?

What are the relationships between man and other forces in the universe? What was the origin of life and what follows after death? Are there ulterior forces beyond the cunning control of the scientists?

What are the highest values of life? For what, in a crisis, would the girl sacrifice her life? What things would she cling to even though all other things must be given up?

What ethical principles should control man's relation to man—in industry, with reference to wealth, as between nations and races?

These and similar questions can be puzzled over and then laid aside and forgotten, or answers can be sought for them and found. For most of these questions there are no factual answers, for these are not—at least not yet—within the realm of scientific experimentation and discovery. They lie, rather, in the field of philosophy, of ethics, of religion.

Hence the answers may and do vary from person to person, from group to group. There is probably no answer to any of them which would be universally accepted or which could be proved by scientific methods. The answers are matters of belief and of faith. They furnish the motives for conduct, they give an underlying unity to all that the girl does.

AN ADEQUATE PHILOSOPHY

What may be thought of as an adequate philosophy depends in part upon the times. Values, ethical conceptions, ultimate goals change from generation to generation. A past generation was highly concerned over personal salvation and life in the hereafter. The present

generation has shifted the focus of attention to man in the here and now. An adequate philosophy of life at the present should include in its concrete aspects provision for at least these two things:

1. An integrated, organized personal life which permits the girl to use her capacities to their fullest extent. This means that she should have personal goals of conduct and that she needs to see her personal goals in relation to what she believes to be some ultimate purpose in her life. It means that her hierarchy of personal values excludes those experiences which will be disintegrating, which will destroy her morale, which will demoralize her. At the same time it means that she will seek varied experiences in order that she may understand the complex life of her generation and thus avoid the disorganizing shocks which sometimes come when the girl of narrow outlook is precipitated into the onrush of adult life.

2. Social responsibility. Concern with personal salvation and a *laissez faire* policy with regard to the rest of the world are slowly giving way before the growth of an interest in social welfare. This does not mean that one half of the world wishes to "do good" to the other half, but that it is necessary to visualize people not as individuals standing alone but as forming social groups, and to visualize these groups as mutually dependent upon one another, until the whole world begins to resemble a community of neighborhoods. True, the neighborhoods (nations) often quarrel, but the time has now arrived when the quarreling of any two nations concerns all to such an extent that the last war between nations grew until it became the World War. The relations of nation to nation, the dominance of small by strong nations,

policies of peace and war, the conditions of industry in any one nation are all matters of ethical values which the girl should settle for herself in her attempt to find a life philosophy.

THE PLACE OF RELIGION

Until the present, and in most towns still, the church is the institution which has been most concerned with a philosophy of life and a system of personal morals. But many young people seem to receive little aid from church contacts. The situation may be clarified by analyzing some reasons why the church seemingly fails to meet the needs of young people.

1. The adults of a church congregation may still sing "the old-time religion is good enough for me," but it is not sufficient for the younger members of the group. This is partly because the old-time religion regarded a part of its duty to be the establishment of facts concerning the material world. It stated definitely how the earth had been created, how human life had originated, what actual state follows death, that insanity was due to demon possession, that the world was created 4004 years B.C., and so forth.

But as science with its careful methods grew, other facts backed by carefully observed and measured evidence accumulated. Often this evidence conflicted with the time-honored views of religious groups. The results of scientific endeavor have been incorporated into the texts used in public schools, however, and have been put into popular and readable form for the general public. Hence young people are carefully taught at school the results of scientific research in ancient history, geology,

geography, and biology. If, then, they attend a church in which statements earlier accepted as true but since disproved by science are still taught as facts, a conflict is almost certain to result in their minds. The church which conceives its function not as a fact-finding institution but as an institution to establish standards of conduct has no such difficulty. It accepts what the scientists discover and seeks the best ways to make use of these discoveries. It attempts to establish ethical principles to govern conduct in this vastly more complicated world which science has given us.

2. The "old-time religion" is not adapted to modern social needs. There is no need here to dilate upon the rapidity of social change—that subject has been amply discussed in magazine articles, books, lectures, and sermons. But it is too often overlooked that these rapid changes have brought with them a multitude of new opportunities to misuse and abuse certain social classes, to neglect certain needed aspects of life. That these social trends have not been ethically evaluated in any widespread sense is evident from the continued existence of such practices as child labor, and political graft, to mention only two abuses which attend the present social order.¹

Young girls entering industry or business houses and students making their first contacts with new groups often find themselves involved in these new social movements, and later in their capacity as voters come face to face with many of the issues involved. Frequently, they have no clear idea of how to adjust to them or of the degree of personal responsibility which they should assume

¹ In this connection, see E. A. Ross, *Sin and Society*, 1907.

for what goes on about them. There is an acute need for some group to evaluate these social trends.

3. Religion as presented in some churches tends to cling too closely to the interpretation of ideals of personal conduct of the generation just past. Young people find that these ideals conflict with the conduct of other groups of young people.

The girl who meets such a conflict has several choices. She may retain the ideals and beliefs taught in the church, but by so doing she often aligns herself with a generation which is passing rather than with her own generation.

A few years ago a girl appeared at the opening of the fall term of a woman's college dressed somewhat after the manner of a generation ago. Her hair was unbobbed, her skirts were long in a day of exposed knees, her garments were of sensible cotton instead of fragile silk. Her mother had attended the same college at a time when it was in a period of transition between the old type of girls' seminary and a modern college. In the mother's day, the students had worn a semiuniform. Her daughter had with her uniforms of this same type. The girl was an anomaly in the student body. Away from her mother, however, she made a rapid adaptation to prevailing student customs, and under the tutelage of new friends soon was indistinguishable from the other students. She had left the ranks of an older generation and had fallen into step with her own. Many young girls must undergo a similar transition with reference to moral values.

Issues of a personal sort which have recently been or are still current are the matter of chaperonage, with the whole attendant question of freedom between young men and women; style of dress (including the mooted ques-

tion of types of bathing suits worn at public beaches); habits of temperance and of smoking among young women; places of amusement to which it is suitable for girls to go. The reader will no doubt be able to add other issues which are particularly pointed in his community.

Often this transition from the beliefs of the adult generation to the customs and manners of a younger group is not attended by any real transition in philosophy of life. When the older beliefs, learned in childhood, are dropped, no other ones are acquired. For the younger generation, having embarked upon new ways of living, has not yet developed a complete philosophy of life to hand on ready-made to newcomers to their ranks. They disagree among themselves as well as with the older generation. Hence there is all too great a tendency for young people to drift along, drawn this way and that by the different groups they meet, following chance or eccentric beliefs, indulging in erratic behavior, rather than to develop a new philosophy of life, fitted to their needs, to replace the older one which did not fit.

4. Religion which is taught as Bible study in a literal sense often fails to meet the needs of the young adult. It is no doubt of value for young people to know the facts of the religious traditions of their sect or denomination, as it is valuable for them to know the social or political history and traditions of their country. But the religion which will count in the process of living is not a factual religion but an appreciative religion, one which gives on the one hand values and standards and on the other loyalty to these standards. Such a religion should be specific and concrete and should be closely linked with everyday life. If the ethical standards presented in the Gospels

are important, to the young person they are important not in a setting of two thousand years ago but in a setting of to-day. To be effective, such standards should be presented not purely on an intellectual level but with some regard to motivation. The use of music, art, ritual, and drama is effective in giving the degree of emotional appeal necessary.

ADOLESCENT CONVERSIONS

The church which presents to young people a type of religion suited to their needs has still the problem of how best to develop adherence to its codes and ideals—how to make those codes and ideals a genuine part of the philosophy of the young person.

At present religious education which begins training the child at babyhood and in theory at least continues on to adulthood is the accepted formal religious experience of most young people. According to the theory implicit in religious education, the child is inducted into knowledge of religious history and tradition and receives accepted religious attitudes in the same way that he is inducted into any other set of habits and principles or into any other field of knowledge. The process is an educational one, and it leaves little or no place for the religious conversion of the highly emotional type. Revivals have lost caste as a more steady and orderly process of religious education has gained ground.

In order to analyze briefly what seems to take place during an emotional conversion the following account is given as related by a converted man in a Chicago mission. In the slum missions may be found some of the most complete cases of conversion.

I know what it is to come out of the pen and not have any friends, not even the saloon keeper, and the cops are against you. I know the condition I was in twelve years ago when I walked into the mission and I heard a man get up and give testimony, and I did not care anything about God. I did not know anything about him. I could hold a job only so long and nobody had any use for me, but I really did want to get rid of drinking. I heard these testimonies and I got down on my knees and gave my heart to God. Nobody can ever take that from me. When everything else failed, when mother's broken heart failed, and my wife's threats to leave me failed, and my children had nothing to eat, and I drank the money anyhow, I got down on my knees and I know this precious Lord and Master kept me for nearly twelve years without a drop of drink. I know just what you are up against. I know how I damned and cursed the people who told me about Jesus. I was \$7,000 in debt and I said if anybody wants to show his Christianity, let him hand me over \$7,000; but I would have spent it at the first saloon. Someone came and dragged me down to the mission and I cursed him and wanted to fight him, but still he pulled me down. It wasn't an easy thing for him to do. When a man is sane he doesn't like to stand in a street car and go down the street with a man who is drunk, and that was my condition. I heard the testimony and it touched my heart, and I thought, that is what I want to be. I want to be sober and straight and right. I was a wife-beater. Everything that was sin was with me. I went into it all. And I heard these stories and testimony. I started to cry and I walked up the aisle and no one came near me and I said, "God Almighty, if you will only save my soul." And I knelt down and gave my heart to God. Now I am happy. My wife is happy and I have all I want to eat and drink and I have my own little business and I can take care of my children.²

² From a stenographic account.

In this case there was in the man's life and habits a great divergence both from conventional conduct and from his own earlier habits. Conversion meant a sudden and complete return to his early habits, which had become in his memory somewhat sacred (note the reference to his mother) and perhaps identified with his early religious training. He did not become converted, it should be noted, until he had accepted the attitude of the mission that his way of living was sinful and was something from which he should be saved. His conversion was confirmed and strengthened by his acceptance into the new group, by their praise and confidence. There seems no doubt but that conversions of this sudden and radical type occur, with a complete reorganization of attitudes and habits, usually in the form of a return to an earlier pattern.

Obviously, it is difficult to expect such an experience with an adolescent. Under emotional stress of a revival, the adolescent may work up a feeling of guilt over some trivial misdemeanor or a general feeling of guilt over his shortcomings, but he has not diverged from the conventional pattern to such an extent that he can experience a genuine conversion. For the most part, he is merely responding unconsciously to the expectation that he will have a conversion and reaches a tense emotional state from which he may later have a strong reaction.

The inability of adolescents to experience a true conversion is evident in figures given by Clark in his study of some 2,000 young men and women who recorded their religious experiences. Of the girls, 71 per cent had experienced a gradual growth in religious experience, 26.5 per cent had had some sort of emotional reaction but

without a definite change of attitude or true conversion, while only 2.5 per cent had experienced a definite crisis with permanent changes in attitudes, ideals and conduct (conversion).

A definite relationship was found between the type of religious experience and the type of religious teaching which the person had had. Thus, among the persons who had been subjected to the teachings of a "stern theology" (emphasis upon sin, damnation, and hell rather than upon a kindly God) 30.7 per cent had experienced a gradual growth in religion, 34.7 per cent the temporary emotional reaction, and 34.6 per cent a genuine conversion. But of those who had been members of churches using a confirmation of young people, 92.3 per cent had experienced a gradual growth in religious experience, 5.5 per cent a temporary emotional reaction and only 2.2 per cent a definite conversion.³

It seems evident that while there may be on the part of many girls an increased interest in religion at the period of adolescence, this interest is shaped by the influences which surround her. When conversions are expected, she has an emotional experience. When religious education assumes a gradual growth in religious experiences, she has a gradual growth. This conclusion is of importance for the practical church program.

INDOCTRINATION

Adolescent conversion, as a method of religious education, assumes a sudden change to occur in the attitudes of the young person. A very different method is that of indoctrination, which seeks while the child is still young

³ Elmer T. Clark, *Psychology of Religious Awakening*, pp. 48, 63, 86.

and impressionable to instill doctrines which will be fixed and lasting.

At the present time, with a world shifting rapidly in the matter of inventions, discoveries, new and varied contacts, increase in urban life, and the new customs and codes attendant upon these changes, it does not seem wise to teach to any young person a stable and inflexible system of beliefs about the universe or an unchangeable code of morals. An excellent discussion of the indoctrination of the minds of young people with adult beliefs was given by President Morgan, of Antioch College, before the Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent Education. Since the lecture was published only in mimeographed form, several quotations are included here:

Many people have discovered that because the child, in his early years, can have outlooks, habits, views and beliefs fixed almost beyond change, this teachableness can be used to perpetuate partisan and controversial outlooks and beliefs.

If we are afraid that the views we hold will not stand analysis, if they are not sound enough to be examined in the light of reason, then the most effective way to perpetuate them is to indoctrinate them in the minds of young people before the age of reason, and to fix them so deeply in thought, habit, and belief that when the years of maturity come, it will be practically impossible to break away from those beliefs.

I think that in the course of history human progress has been greatly interfered with by this method of capturing and enslaving the minds of children. I use that term "enslaving" carefully, because I believe that the servitude that is put upon human minds by fixing upon them controversial beliefs and outlooks so firmly that

they cannot be removed, is actual servitude as truly and as significantly as though we put the body under slavery and compelled involuntary labor. It is definitely a denial of human freedom so to limit outlook and fix belief that freedom of inquiry in controversial matters is in actual fact forever destroyed. . . .

We need a new moral code with respect to indoctrinating young minds. We must realize that this process gives us power over young minds, power that it is not ours to exercise without very great responsibility, and we must so exercise it that as the years of maturity and discretion come there will remain to the child the freedom to look at life anew, to examine his outlooks and beliefs, and to form his opinions reasonably and not through compulsion. . . .

In our indoctrination of children we should limit ourselves to those outlooks and points of view and faiths and habits that are approximately universal in their acceptance.

There is a great deal that can be included in such a category of universality. We can indoctrinate a care for physical health. . . . We are on sure ground when we indoctrinate good will, when we teach courtesy, good manners, kindness. . . . We are on solid ground when we consider indoctrinating a love of one's fellow men. . . . We can take another step and indoctrinate honesty and integrity. . . .

Then the obverse, I believe, is sound: that when we come to outlooks and beliefs concerning which there is no unanimity on the part of mankind, we do well, we are under moral obligation, to refrain from indoctrinating young minds with beliefs that are controversial, that are held by only a minor fraction of the human race, and that will be brought into question if that person ever endeavors to think clearly for himself and to think anew and free from his indoctrination.⁴

⁴ In *Some Talks on Adolescence*, Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent Education, pp. 2-4.

The alternative is to teach the child beliefs as beliefs rather than as unchanging truths. In the realm of religious beliefs, moral codes, philosophic beliefs there is in some circles a tendency to combat change, a tendency to insist that the old beliefs are the only truths and that they cannot be changed. Thus beliefs are taught as unchangeable truths, rather than as matters of faith, as insights, as the best values in life which man knows up to the present. It is such stabilized, inflexible teaching which causes disorganization when the girl upon going to college, moving into a different community, or making friends in new groups finds other intelligent and attractive people who hold opposed or divergent beliefs, which also had been taught to them as fixed and unchangeable truths.

The only safe method seems to be to give the girl from the first some knowledge of the various divergent beliefs which people hold.

This does not mean that any attempt should be made to put before an immature girl or a young child several systems of belief with the expectation that the child will choose one or the other. Such a procedure could be only a farce, for the child would almost invariably choose the one it knew was held by the adults in its family or church. But to know that other beliefs are held by respectable and respected people is to encourage tolerance, and to develop the ability in the girl of mingling freely with those of other beliefs. To teach as an absolute truth something which others believe to be untrue, and for which there is no objective proof, means confusion as soon as the girl comes into contact with those who hold the opposed belief.

DISCUSSION GROUPS

Emphasis has recently centered upon the discussion group, for which there is undoubtedly a place. The term implies, however, that there must be something to discuss, some real issue, a point of conflict. Hence care should be taken in the organization of discussion groups. When a group of young people really face a problem of attitude or conduct, there is a place for the discussion group, through which every side of the issue may be revealed and some tentative group conclusion reached. The discussion group is valuable not only as a place to discover new points of view. The fact that the group itself reaches a conclusion means that this group opinion acts as a means of control on the individual member of the group. Great care should be taken in handling discussion groups to the end that really new points of view may develop. The church tends to be a conservative institution, and the adult who leads a discussion group may be sure in his own mind that the old ways of doing things are the only right ways. There must be realization that adolescents are largely living in a world which did not exist when the present adult generation was young and that new methods must be devised to meet new problems.

The mistake should not be made, however, of thinking that discussion groups based upon moral conflicts and crises are sufficient. General principles and ideals which are agreed upon, as well as the principles which grow out of discussion groups, can be presented effectively in some artistic form which calls forth the glow of emotional response conducive to fixing the principle as a personal attitude or ideal.

CEREMONY AND RITUAL

Unfortunately, the trend in churches away from revivals and conversions with their sudden emotional upheaval has caused many churches to "lean over backward" in their efforts to be nonemotional in their appeal to young people. There is, however, a legitimate place for an emotional appeal, based not upon a feeling of sin and fear, but upon certain sentiments, such as loyalty, admiration, and the desire to be one with a group. The test of how intense an emotional appeal to make might be whether or not the heightened emotional reaction can be retained or whether the adolescent suffers a relapse, attended by a feeling of disappointment or even disgust.

Through the proper use of ritual, singing and simple ceremonies the church can arouse new attitudes and give to religion an artistic and appreciative aspect which is very appealing to girls. Ritual in which girls themselves have a part is especially effective. Certain organizations for girls, such as the Girl Reserves, the Camp Fire Girls, and the Girl Scouts, make very effective use of ceremonials to emphasize the attitudes which the leaders wish to build up in the girls. Older adolescents are often delighted to work out their own ceremonials.

RECREATIONAL GROUPS

Another approach which the church can make to young people is in its function as a social institution. There are only a few institutions which cater to young people, and almost none except the church which welcomes equally both young men and young women.

Because of its acceptance of both sexes, the church has a unique opportunity in influencing the social and cultural, as well as the religious, life of young people—a fact worthy of most careful consideration.

A number of suggestions have been made in the earlier chapters of this book of ways in which the church might function with mixed social groups. Hence nothing further seems called for here except to reiterate the point and to add, further, that these social groups often are more influential in establishing habits and attitudes than are the activities directed especially toward the inculcation of ideals, inasmuch as in them the young people are actually putting into practice the attitudes and ideals which they hold.

A BACKGROUND FOR THE ADULT LEADER

The more the adult leader knows of the interests, the motives, the "psychology" of girls, the more chance exists for devising a successful program. Much of this knowledge must come from first-hand friendships with girls. There are, however, a number of books which give the results of careful studies and of wide acquaintance with girls which will be helpful. A number of these general books on adolescence or on the slightly later age period of youth are listed below, followed by a list of books on religious development and religious education. The fact that many of these books seem to be on adolescence in general rather than on youth is due to the fact that the earlier age period has been the point of attack for many of the studies. Much of the information is applicable, however, to the older groups or suggests points of view helpful in working with older adolescents.

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